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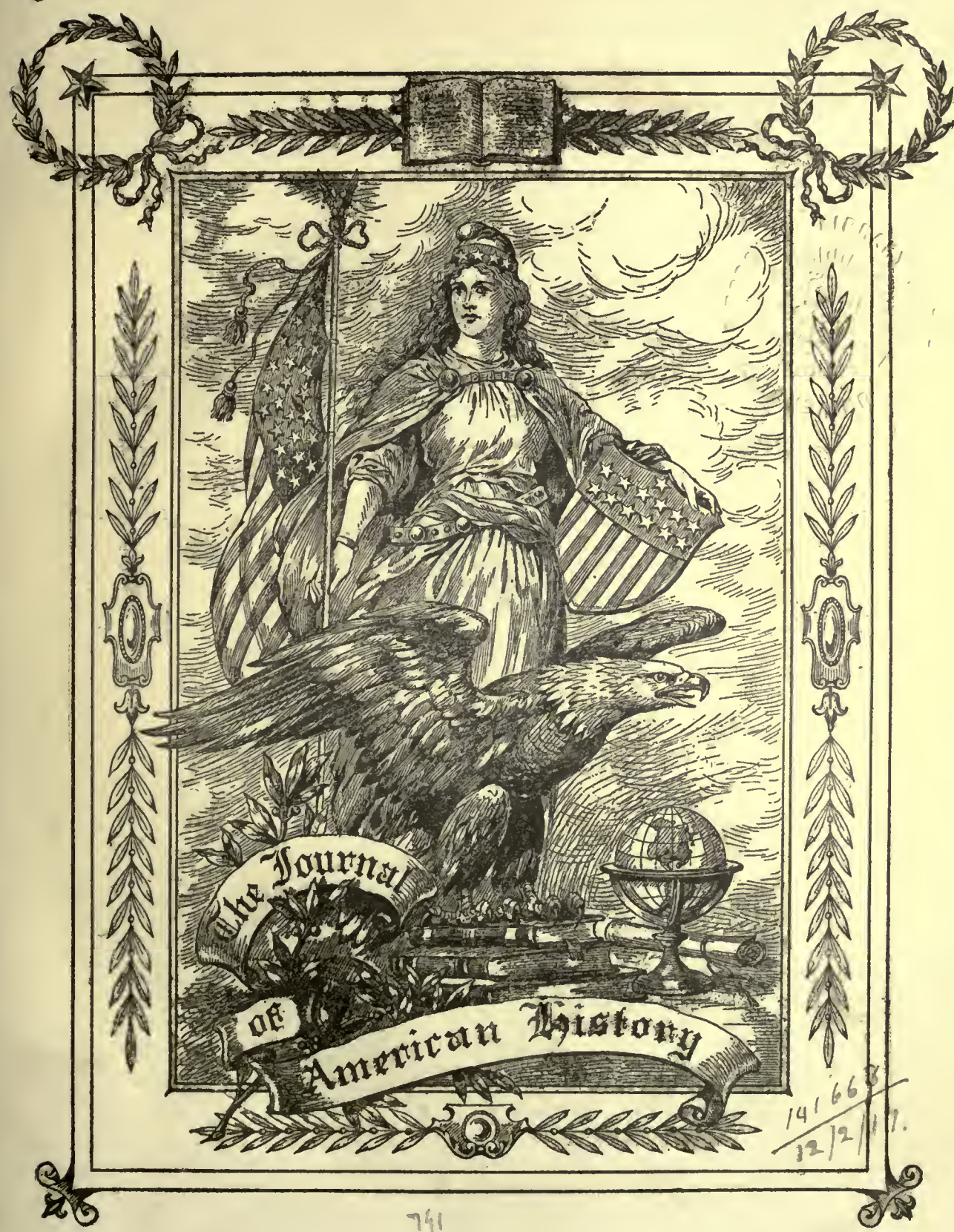






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SOUTH PART OF BENEFIT STREET





INDIA POINT AND THE MOUTH OF THE BLACKSTONE RIVER

The Journal of American History

VOLUME VII
NINETEEN HUNDRED AND
THIRTEEN



NUMBER I
FIRST QUARTER

The Battle of Guilford Court House

The Decisive Conflict of the Southern Campaign, During the
War of the Revolution & Splendid Gallantry, Both of the
British Soldiers, and the Patriots Who Fought for Liberty &
A Detailed History of One of the Great Battles Which Won
for the American People Their Independence

BY

FRANCIS KIERON



THE Battle of Guilford Court House was not only one of the hardest fought and most deadly conflicts of the American Revolution—creating a profound impression in Europe; but was the decisive engagement of the Southern campaign, contributing no small part to bringing about, almost immediately, the freedom of the Thirteen Colonies. Yet its importance does not seem to be recognized, nor its history well known among people, generally. One reason for that seems to be its geographical location. It is quite likely that, had Guilford been in one of the Northern States with a battle of its kind to its credit, the people there would have much more effectually disseminated its narrative.

Colonel Henry Lee, known as "Light Horse Harry," who, with his celebrated Legion, took part in the battle, says in his memoirs: "It was fought on the fifteenth day of March (1781), a day never to be forgotten by the Southern

section of the United States. The atmosphere calm, and illumined with a cloudless sun; the season rather cold than cool; the body braced and the mind high toned by the state of the weather. Great was the stake, willing were the generals to put it to hazard, and their armies seemed to support with ardor the decision of their respective leaders."

Major-General Nathaniel Greene, Commander-in-Chief of the American forces in the Southern department, had put off battle with the British army under Lieutenant-General Earl Cornwallis until the engagement at Guilford, because his troops were not hitherto collected in sufficient numbers to meet the King's soldiers in a pitched field. Greene was placed in command after Gates had been so disastrously defeated. After that rout, there was scarcely a semblance of an American army to dispute with his Lordship the conquest of the Southern States, so completely had he shattered it between the swamps at Camden.

When everything appeared on the verge of irretrievable ruin for the patriots was the very time that the fires in liberty-loving breasts burned most brightly. Never was there a nobler endeavor than that made by the people of the South, determined at that crisis, as well as other times throughout the Revolution, to make themselves free. Beset on all sides by loyalists and British regulars, it required unusual courage for a citizen to declare himself in favor of Independence. The partisan war, however, frequently presaged death for the unlucky prisoner, be he patriot or loyalist. With the possible exception of the Mohawk Valley, there was no place where the Revolutionary struggle bore such an aspect of fierceness as in many of the Southern campaigns. Nor were even some of the British free from the stain, and the dashing Tarleton tainted his otherwise valorous career. The Continentals could reflect with joy that their hands were white, a notable temptation they withstood being at the Cowpens, where they turned the day on Tarleton, making most of his troops captives at a time when he had been doing bloody work among the patriots.

Georgia, North and South Carolina, and Virginia sent militia, while the last named State, with Maryland and Delaware, furnished regulars. The hardy mountaineers from the West annihilated Ferguson with his light infantry and militia at the Battle of King's Mountain, striking the first hard blow at Cornwallis; then came Tarleton's misfortune at the Cowpens; while, soon, with the aid of Morgan, Sumpter, Pickens, and Marion, General Greene, assisted by his other brilliant officers, with wonderful fortitude and perseverance, had gathered Continentals and militia, until they offered fight to the British regulars after extraordinary retreating in marches and countermarches across Southern streams and counties that will go down in history as memorable military achievements. Those leaders were often far apart, working quite independently; yet all having the same end in view, and by constant annoyance to the King's troops, kept steadily on accomplishing the desired result. The climax of all those campaigns was Guilford.

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Lord Cornwallis, his efficient officers, and brave followers always performed their tasks wisely and courageously ; but difficulties piled up too fast upon them. In their activities they were subjected to trials barely less severe than those endured by Burgoyne and his splendid army in their unfortunate invasion of the North. Both armies suffered the same fate. In this connection it is not too much to say that the British troops that fought at Guilford were not the inferior of any of the royal forces in America ; and that they very probably owed their excellence to continuous field work and camp life without tents and customary shelter. Earl Cornwallis was one of the most zealous generals sent out by George the Third. Although he was a magnanimous enemy to the patriots, yet he was ever ready to further his Majesty's cause, never avoiding a fight when it was within his power to get to the field, and ranking favorably with the best British officers of the Revolution in generalship.

Greene and Cornwallis had often met in the North. His Lordship had expressed his opinion of the Rhode Island General in the Jerseys, when he wrote : "Greene is as dangerous as Washington ; he is vigilant, enterprising, and full of resources. With but little hope of gaining an advantage over him, I never feel secure when encamped in his neighborhood." That was a truthful and praise-worthy acknowledgment, reflecting great honor on both men.

At Brandywine, when the tide of the conflict had turned against Washington, it was to General Greene and his Virginian Division that he turned, to stay the pursuit. Greene, pale with apprehension and determination, lost not a moment. His Lordship could attest to his stand ; while posterity is well aware of how he chafed under Washington's orders to finally retreat, so stubbornly and masterly did he, aided by his Brigadiers, Weedon, the innkeeper, and, Muhlenberg, the minister, direct the Virginians against the flower of Sir William Howe's army under the energetic Cornwallis.

In the retreat at Germantown Cornwallis threw himself into the battle against Greene, who retired so securely as not to lose a single cannon. John Fiske, in speaking of Greene's appointment to the command of the Southern department, says : "In every campaign since the beginning of the war Greene had been Washington's right arm ; and for indefatigable industry, for strength and breadth of intelligence, and for unselfish devotion to the public service, he was scarcely inferior to the Commander-in-Chief." In the South, Greene's illustrious deeds augmented his reputation as a rare soldier.

Guilford Court House stood, a solitary building, near the northern boundary, in North Carolina. The natural advantages of its surroundings furnished a strong position to oppose the approach of the royal troops. It was accordingly chosen by Greene, who, knowing the greater numerical strength of his own army, the nature of the enemy's troops, as well as the eagerness of Cornwallis, anticipated a front-to-front engagement. It was the grand hope of his Lordship to crush the Americans in a single battle ; but he had been skillfully evaded until now, so it was with auspicious readiness that he advanced to attack them.

Stedman, the historian, present with the British on the field, gave a glimpse of his chief's hopes when he wrote: "If Cornwallis had had the troops Tarleton lost at the Cowpens, it is not extravagant to suppose that the American Colonies might have been reunited to the empire of Great Britain."

Cornwallis was obliged to fight two hundred miles from his base of supplies, therefore, if the day went against him, he would be exceedingly unlucky; while a victory, unless of the decisive kind of that over Gates, would avail him very little in a territory where the loyalists would be timid and the patriots hostile. Greene, on the other hand, had practically all to gain; and, save a bad beating, nothing to fear. In other words, his Lordship had been out-generaled in being attracted too far in an unsuccessful pursuit.

In planning for the battle, the American Commander was naturally influenced by General Morgan's advice and experience. That veteran officer had quit the service, after joining Greene with his victors of the Cowpens, on account of rheumatism; but there endured, after his departure, a record of his heroic and well calculated deeds, from the wisdom of which Greene did not decline to profit.

He formed his troops in three lines. The first, consisting of the North Carolina militia, numbering one thousand and sixty, besides officers, was commanded by Generals Butler and Eaton, and was posted in the most advantageous position Greene had ever seen. They were protected by a strong rail fence and small trees, at the edge of a clearing used as fields, and across which the British would have to march in attacking. That clearing was divided by the highroad to Salisbury, and, consequently, Captain Singleton, with two field-pieces, was stationed there to give courage to the militia, as well as to annoy the enemy. On the right of this array of North Carolinians, they were further strengthened by a battalion of Virginia Riflemen under Colonel Lynch; the remnant of the brave Delaware Line, about eighty men, commanded by the "meritorious and unrewarded" Captain Kirkwood; and by Lieutenant-Colonel William Washington's cavalry. The left flank was to be held safe by Virginia Riflemen under Colonel Campbell, and by Lee's Legion.

Guilford was in a wilderness at that time, and the road to Salisbury was the only open way from the clearing and first line to the environs of the Court House. The forest of lofty oaks gave good protection to the second line, made up of Virginia militia, numbering eleven hundred and twenty-three men, rank and file, and directed by Generals Stevens and Lawson. They were on a ridge about three hundred yards in the rear of the advance line. General Stevens placed a few veterans back of his troops with orders to shoot down anyone quitting the ranks from cowardice.

More could naturally be expected of these Virginians than of the North Carolina force, because some of the men, as well as most of the officers, had seen Continental service in the earlier part of the war. Some members of the North Carolina militia were pressed into service to prove that they were not loyalists.

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That some of them were disloyal as patriots is probable, but that a portion of the North Carolinians fought with ardor cannot be denied.

On the right of the highroad, near where it was joined by the one from Reedy Fork, and over three hundred yards in the rear of the Virginians, the Continentals were drawn up, following the rather curved formation of the hill on which the Court House stood. It is more than half a mile from that point down to the foot of the hill, near where a small stream winds through a broken ravine. The enemy would have to fight the first two lines and climb that long hill before he could get at the Continentals; therefore, General Greene and his officers naturally expected that the British troops would spend a great deal of their force and be badly crippled by the time they reached the American regulars.

During the battle Greene kept with the Continentals. The right of this line comprised Brigadier-General Huger's Virginian brigade, his two regiments being commanded by Colonels Greene and Hewes. The left wing was commanded by Colonel Otho H. Williams, consisting of the Maryland Brigade, Colonel Gunby commanding the First, and Lieutenant-Colonel Ford the Second Regiment. Between these wings were placed the other two pieces of artillery. On the left and in front of the Maryland Brigade there were some old fields and open space, while a deep ravine in front of the Virginian Brigade afforded them a natural advantage.

The aggregate strength of the American army was four thousand, four hundred, and four men. It is not to be overlooked that the only veteran troops were the First Maryland Regiment, The Delawares, Lee's Legion, and Washington's Cavalry; far the greater portion of the army being raw troops on which a great deal could not be depended when charged by regulars. Not only did the militia lack experience under fire, but they were without bayonets.

Greene had sent Lee and Campbell to skirmish. Quite early in the morning they had an encounter with light infantry and cavalry under Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton, which brought out the superiority of the horses used by the Americans. A front section of British cavalry met a shock from Lee, with the result that the dragoons, to a man, were dismounted and most of their horses knocked down. The small horses used by Tarleton were taken, in large part, from South Carolina plantations, while the much larger and stronger ones used by Lee came from Virginia and Pennsylvania. Tarleton hastily drew off his cavalry. His infantry fought with fine spirit; and when he was about to be supported by Cornwallis, who was advancing, the Americans withdrew, taking their places in the first line of battle.

When the van of the royal army appeared, Captain Singleton opened fire upon them with his two guns. The British artillery replied and, under cover of the smoke of their cannon, the King's troops marched through a defile along the Salisbury road and deployed for the conflict. Trevelyan says: "No man alive could set a battle in array more artistically and impressively than Lord Cornwallis." Here is what he did.

Fraser's Highlanders—that is to say the Seventy-first Foot—and the German Regiment of Bose composed his right wing under Major-General Leslie, with the First Battalion of the Guards in reserve, Lieutenant-Colonel Norton commanding. His left wing was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Webster and comprised the Twenty-third and Thirty-third Foot, the latter being Cornwallis' own Regiment. The Grenadiers and Second Battalion of the Guards were in reserve behind Webster and commanded by Brigadier-General O'Hara. The Royal artillery, under Lieutenant McLeod, like Singleton, occupied the road and exchanged fire with him. The Yagers and light infantry of the Guards kept to the left and rear of the artillery. Tarleton's cavalry was in column on the road in the rear. This entire British force did not much, if any, exceed two thousand men.

As the splendid little army, with scarlet coats and shining bayonets, moved from their cramped position near the brook and began treading steadily toward the American first line, they were animated with all the enthusiasm that inspired the grand advance at Fontenoy. When in the open ground, and while still about one hundred and forty yards from the North Carolinians, they received from that militia a feeble volley. The British then, on their part, delivered a fire that did not take any effect; but, following it with the bayonet, a lively cheering, and a rush, they took away the wits of most of the militiamen, who, beginning a wild flight, threw aside everything that would impede them.

The mad action of those unhappy men has been the subject of much censure. George Washington Greene relates, in his *Life of the General*, that, as a tradition, it was told to him of Greene's riding along this first line, after it had been formed for the action, and saying to the men: "Three rounds, my boys, and then you may fall back." He well knew that those practiced marksmen, with three rounds, could cause death and destruction in the British ranks. He and many more were bitterly disappointed by knowing that many of those men threw away their loaded guns, not even waiting to fire.

John Frost, in his *History*, attributes the cause of their panic to "The misconduct of a Colonel, who, on the advance of the enemy, called out to an officer at some distance, that he would be surrounded." Frost adds that "The alarm was sufficient," and continues in a praiseworthy way to condemn the Colonel. But in this age, when we reflect that the Colonel in question did not lose our Independence, his concern for his fellow officer provokes in the reader as much laughter as just anger.

The efforts of Butler, Eaton, and Colonel Davie, the Commissary-General, to rally them were futile. Lieutenant-Colonel Lee threatened to cut them down with his cavalry, but all endeavor was of no avail. Lossing, quoting Dr. Caruthers, says, however, that many of the Highlanders fell before the Carolinians, who took post with Lee and Campbell on the left. They were of Eaton's command, and it is quite likely that most if not all of these men were also Scotch. Their part in the battle was brave and honorable, like that of Campbell's Rifle-

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men and Lee's Legion. Those troops were out-flanked by the superior numbers of the enemy when the militia gave way. The Americans left, consequently, fell slowly back, but not without giving the Germans and Highlanders a steady and galling fire. On the American right, Lynch, Kirkwood, and Washington gave great annoyance to the British onset. The King's troops followed the militia, making for the Virginians in the second line with the bayonet. Captain Singleton, according to previous orders, had safely retired up the road with his artillery to the second line.

It became expedient for Cornwallis to lengthen his line of battle: accordingly, Norton, with the First Battalion of the Guards, moved to the extreme right to aid the Hessians and the Highlanders, while the light infantry of the Guards and the Yagers supported Cornwallis' Regiment, the Thirty-third, on the left. As for O'Hara's reserve, the Grenadiers and the Second Battalion of the Guards, they moved forward in the middle to drive in the second line of Americans. The British met a terrible fire from the Virginian militia under Stevens and Lawson; their ranks suffered greatly; the density of timber and under-growth, in a great many places, prevented or interfered with the use of the bayonet; besides, too, the unevenness of the ground hindered their advance.

Their left kept steadily moving onward, led by the capable Webster against veteran Americans, whose policy in the action, however, was to fall back for a final stand with the Continentals, if the militia of the two advance lines gave away. The right of the American second line gave way before him; so Webster, proceeding with rapid attack, got out on the open space before the array of Continentals. There he was met by the First Maryland and the left of Brigadier-General Huger's command, as well as by Kirkwood's men, who took stand with the other regulars. After both sides had poured in deadly volleys, the First Maryland, under Gunby, seconded by Lieutenant-Colonel John Eager Howard, advanced to the charge. They were tried and true, the heroes of the line at the Cowpens. At the point of the bayonet, they compelled Webster's command to cross the deep ravine in front of the Virginian regulars, and to retire to a hill, as a place of safety.

In the meantime, the British, in other parts of the field of battle, had been fighting bravely, and assailing with great energy all the Americans that confronted them. Owing to the greater resistance on the left of the Virginian militia, as well as to the stubbornness of Lee and Campbell, who were now engaged in a separate encounter with the Hessians and the First Battalion of the Guards, to the extreme left of the American line, the King's troops were longer delayed on their right. Their artillery had kept pace with them, moving up the Salisbury road. Tarleton, as he afterwards wrote, thought that either army had an equal chance of victory. He sat uneasily in his saddle, as he always did, wishing to be in the battle; for his cavalry had advanced up the Great road to act as a reserve, or to be ready for a vital blow.

The British were hemmed in by the forest, and were not in complete touch with each other; but, be it said, greatly to their renown, they kept on charging the enemy wherever they saw him, or heard the rattle of his musketry, ultimately gathering for a grand assault upon him. Cornwallis, mounted on his splendid horse, rode with the troops, receiving reports and giving orders. When his animal was shot under him he used one belonging to a dragoon, not noticing, in his busy thought, that the saddle-bags had turned under the horse's belly, and were catching in the brush, as he urged it on toward the enemy without realizing his danger of capture. Sergeant Lamb, who relates this incident, says that he turned the horse around for the General; and they retired to the edge of a wood, where his Lordship saw a bewildering sight.

He saw the outcome of the unsupported attack of O'Hara's command, the Grenadiers and Second Battalion of the Guards, on the Maryland Brigade. They had penetrated the forest along the highroad, dissipating the militia before them, and marching across the clearing, unnoticed by Colonel Williams of the Marylanders, "on account of an intervening clump of trees." They fell intrepidly upon Ford's Second Maryland and Singleton's two guns, now with the third line, with the result that the raw troops, making up nearly the whole of Ford's Regiment, fled, losing the cannon. Their triumph was of a few minutes only, for Colonel Williams wheeled the First Maryland to the left upon these brave men. The Marylanders, like their antagonists, covered none the less with glory than with blood and smoke, charged, first under Colonel Gunby, who was quickly dismounted by the shooting of his horse, and then under the brave Howard; while, at the same time, Washington and his cavalry, hearing the heavy firing, clattered to the scene and crashed into the British ranks, badly breaking them, and cutting down men wherever they rode. Such handling could not be endured by the Guards, who for a time obstinately stood under Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart against the bayonets of the Marylanders, until further resistance was not possible. The fieldpieces were retaken, the ill-fated Stewart was killed in a hand-to-hand encounter with Captain Smith of the First Maryland, while the entire force was pushed back in irreparable disorder. The fighting was exceedingly fierce. "It was at this time," says Lossing, speaking of Washington's finishing stroke, "that Francisco, a brave Virginian, cut down eleven men in succession with his broadsword. One of the Guards pinned Francisco's leg to his horse with a bayonet. Forbearing to strike, he assisted the assailant to draw his bayonet forth, when, with terrible force, he brought down his broadsword, and cleft the poor fellow's head to his shoulders. Horrible, indeed, were many of the events of that battle; the recital will do no good, and I will forbear." Another remarkable performance is accredited to Francisco in a subsequent action, related by John Fiske in the latest illustrated edition of his "American Revolution."

John Marshall wrote that, about this time, Washington saw, not far away, an officer, surrounded by aides, whom he guessed to be Cornwallis. He flushed

with the thought of taking him, which might have been possible, had not an accident happened, causing the retirement of his cavalry at that point of the action.

Cornwallis knew that the danger was supreme. Indeed, there was grave risk that, not only would he lose the day, which would destroy all respect for the Royal arms in North Carolina, but that his army would now be cut to pieces, if he could not stay the tide of the struggle. McLeod took post with his guns on an eminence, actually the key to the field, but which Greene, because of the rawness of a large portion of his troops, dared not occupy. His Lordship ordered McLeod to open upon them—friend and foe alike. O'Hara, dangerously wounded, protested for his Guards. Cornwallis replied: "It is a necessary evil which we must endure to avert impending destruction." The grape-shot from the smoking artillery of McLeod strewed the open ground with more bodies of the Guards, though it checked Howard and Washington, and saved the King's army.

Greene, too, knew the day was being decided; and, about the time Cornwallis was riding into danger of being taken, was also nearly taken by the British because, lost in his plans and concern, he was equally as unmindful as his Lordship, when Major Burnet apprised him of his peril. He had ridden out to get a nearer view of the conflict. He had not heard from Lee. He could plainly see, as he could have as easily foretold, that the few veterans were his only troops upon which he could depend. The ammunition was giving out. He would not risk his army to destruction. He had crippled his enemy, severely; and now the British were gathering around McLeod, as a nucleus, preparing for a desperate, concentrated assault on his Continentals.

The collection of the royal troops near the small hill on which McLeod's artillery was stationed came about in this way. The Virginian militia, being hard pressed on their centre and left, after Webster had prevailed on their right, gave way altogether, when General Stevens, a great, animating leader in their ranks, received a ball in his right thigh. Although they were slowly retreating, up to that time they had done so with their faces toward their foe. This left O'Hara free to send Stewart and the Guards against the Marylanders. Then, after the Guards were repulsed, O'Hara, notwithstanding his bad wound, rallied them to the Seventy-first and Twenty-third Regiments, which, in the meantime, had come up in the vicinity of McLeod's cannon. Webster, eagerly waiting for a favorable occasion to join the others or coöperate with them, marched down from his refuge on the height. The First Battalion of the Guards, leaving the Hessians to contend with Lee and Campbell, came through the woods on the right, completing a line of regulars against which Greene could not have relished to stand.

As for the hard fight that went on between the Hessians and the Americans in the woods to the right and rear of the British, it had begun to ease, for Lee had left with his cavalry, and Tarleton, luckily escaping him, charged the riflemen and militia, until they withdrew into a dense part of the wood where his horse was no longer dreaded. Tarleton then returned to the neighborhood of the Court

House, on the right of the newly formed line of Cornwallis. Lee and his cavalry, by a timely arrival at the scene of the main action, might have easily turned the day on the King's army; as it was they did not join Greene until the next morning.

Greene was thinking fast during the pause after the artillery play of McLeod; and decided to retreat, accordingly ordering Colonel Greene with his Virginia regiment to cover the rear. The Colonel with his men had been stationed to hold safe the right of the third line; and since they had not an opportunity to exhibit their courage, despite their Colonel's burning desires, he became irritated when he learned General Greene's order, for he claimed they would have no hot fighting when retreating. He was dejected on the following day, and only his Chief's promise, that his regiment would have the first fighting in the next battle, consoled him.

The retreat began near 3:30 in the afternoon, the battle lasting an hour and a half by Cornwallis' watch. He, no doubt, timed the battle proper, for he does not seem to have included the opening cannonade. A rather feeble pursuit was begun by the Seventy-first and Twenty-third Regiments, and Tarleton's cavalry. They were the freshest of his Lordship's troops; but they soon returned, for the orderly retreat of the Americans, as well' no doubt, as the uncertainty of Lee's whereabouts, made the movement appear unpropitious to Earl Cornwallis. Since the horses were killed, Greene was obliged to leave his four fieldpieces and two ammunition wagons, like the honors of the field, behind him. Lossing says two of those pieces of artillery were taken from Burgoyne at Saratoga; lost by Gates at Camden; retaken by the Americans at the Cowpens; and lost again to the British on the field at Guilford. He states, too, that they were of the small variety called "Grasshoppers."

Greene's army retreated about ten miles to Speedwell's iron-works, on Troublesome Creek. Cornwallis remained on the battle-ground. He did everything possible for the wounded of both sides, but destitute of tents and buildings. was helpless to shelter the poor fellows. Some, however, were brought to nearby farm houses.

The list of the killed and wounded of the King's army at Guilford is on an historic tablet, honoring immeasurably the bravery of the British and Hessian soldier. Historians, scanning the pages of English history, come upon no instance where British valor excels the courage displayed by the royal troops in the forest and openings on the well-earned hill in North Carolina.

The Earl's kind heart was deeply touched when he learned the losses he had suffered. Tarleton says: "One-third of the British army was killed or wounded." The actual report gives the loss as five hundred and forty-four.

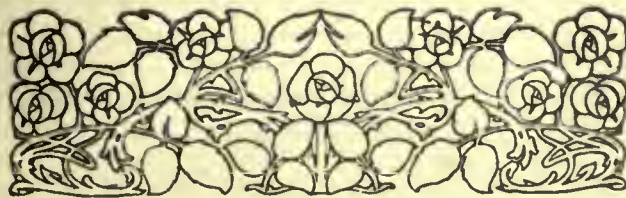
"The deeply loved Webster" was fatally wounded. Stewart was killed, as was Lieutenant O'Hara, brother to the General. The younger O'Hara fell by his cannon during the opening cannonade with Singleton. His brother was

wounded, and also General Howard, a volunteer with the army. Among others were Tarleton, Talbot of the Thirty-third, Grant of the Seventy-first, and Maynard. Cornwallis did not mention that he, himself, was slightly wounded and had two horses killed under him. Leslie was the only general officer not wounded.

With the Americans, the deserving Major Anderson of the First Maryland was killed. General Huger was slightly, and General Stevens severely, wounded; while seventy-seven others were killed. One hundred and eighty-two were wounded, and about ten hundred and fifty missing, bringing the total up to a little more than thirteen hundred. Of course, the great portion of the missing was the militia, the members of that organization simply going off home.

As evening came over the battle-field, the clouds began to gather. March's chill winds intensified the pains and distress of the wounded and dying soldiers, lying beneath the bare oaks or in the clearings; then night, with darkness and heavy rain, increased the gloom, sadness, and extreme suffering.

It is not always easy for one with an ardent and inflexible nature—such as Cornwallis happily possessed—to recognize a frustration of his designs. The facts were: his Lordship claimed the fame; though his actions conceded the gain of the battle to Greene. Notwithstanding that, his expressions in public, in a barren effort to allure the North Carolinians to his cause, and in his letter to Lord George Germaine, did not convey his weakness. Yet, confidentially, he wrote General Phillips, in part: "The fate of it was long doubtful. We had not a regiment or corps that did not at some time give way." In short, four days after the sanguinary contest, leaving many of his own wounded and all of the Americans under a flag, he began his retrograde march; while, seven months from that day, a war lasting that number of years practically ceased, and the liberty of the people of the United States of North America was conclusively wrought out, "in the trenches before Yorktown, in Virginia."



INDEBTEDNESS IS ACKNOWLEDGED TO THE FOLLOWING:

History of the American War by C. Stedman.
History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781 by Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton.
Life of Earl Cornwallis by Ross.
Lecky's American Revolution from his History of England.
Murray's Impartial History of the War in America.
An Original and Authentic Journal, etc., by R. Lamb, Sergeant in Royal Welsh Fusileers.
History of the United States by John Howard Hinton.
The American Revolution by Sir George Otto Trevelyan.
Botta's American Revolution.
Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department by Colonel Henry Lee.
Colonel Otho H. Williams' Narrative.
The Works and Writings of Jared Sparks.
Life of General Green by George Washington Greene.
Life of General Greene by William Johnson.
Life of General Greene by Francis Vinton Greene.
Life of George Washington by Washington Irving.
Life of George Washington by John Marshall.
Life of George Washington by Headley.
Washington and his Generals by Headley.
Catholics and the American Revolution by Martin I. J. Griffin.
American Revolution by John Fiske.
Battles of the American Revolution by Henry B. Carrington.
Field-Book of the Revolution and other Works of Benson J. Lossing.
The Story of a Great Nation by John Gilmary Shea.
History of the American People by Woodrow Wilson.
The Story of the Revolution by Henry Cabot Lodge.
The Struggle for American Independenec by Sydney George Fisher.
History of the United States by Richard Hildreth.
John Frost's American History.



HARDENBERG CASTLE AND THE VILLAGE OF NÖRTEN IN THE YEAR 1650
From an old print

CASTLE HARDENBERG

This ancient stronghold, now in ruins, was built about the year 1000 at Norten, near Gottingen, Germany. The modern residence of the Counts von Hardenberg is nearby.



"THE OLD FORT," STILL STANDING AT KERHONKSON, ULSTER COUNTY, NEW YORK

Built in 1762 by Johannes Gerardus Hardenbergh. In this stone house the public records of New York were placed for safe keeping during the War of the Revolution.



A ROOM IN ROSENDALE

625'



ROSENDALE, THE HOME OF COLONEL JOHANNES HARDENBERGH
Built in 1680 by Colonel Jacob Iutsen, whose daughter married
Major Sir Johannes Hardenbergh.

Hardenbergh Foundations in American History

From Germany in the 12th Century, the Annals of this Ancient House are Traced to Holland, Whither One Branch Went in the Fifteenth Century, and Thence to America, Where the Family Has Been a Notable One Since Jan van Hardenbergh Emigrated to New Netherland Prior to 1659

BY

MARGARET VAN KLEECK GILLMORE

Granddaughter of the Reverend James Bruyn Hardenbergh



ARDENBERG is an ancient family name of Germanic origin. The name probably refers to the Hartz mountains, the German *Hartzgebirge*, as mid their rugged slopes and towering crags those who bore the name resided when first they appear on the pages of history."

In Hanover, Germany, near the University town of Göttingen and, just outside the picturesque village of Nörten, are to be seen today the ruins of Castle Hardenberg. They are considered among the largest and finest ruins in Germany and are well worth visiting. The illustrations here shown of the Castle are from photographs taken in Nörten in 1910. On a battlement of the old ruins can plainly be read these words in Latin: "*Verbum Domini Manet in Aeternum!*" ("The Word of the Lord endureth forever.")

The annals of the noble ancestry of the Hardenberg (or Hardenbergh) family reach back into the Twelfth Century, stretching from the present in unbroken line more than seven hundred years, to 1174, when the old Castle was the home of Dietrick von Hardenberg. In that year it was erected, and was first owned by the Convent of Mainz. It was guarded by men-at-arms and Dietrick von Hardenberg was the trusted warden. In the Fourteenth Century, on account of a heavy debt owed them by the Convent, the Castle passed into the possession of the Hardenbergs, who, since its erection, had been its wardens, and in their possession it has continued to the present time.

The present Count von Hardenberg lives in a more modern habitation, a

short walk through a park from the ruins of his ancestral home. This *Schloss* was the residence of Carl August, Prince of Hardenberg, who was born at Enenroda, May 31st, 1750, and died at Genoa, November 22nd, 1822. He was one of the most illustrious statesmen of Prussia, and for his services was made a Prince by Frederick William III at Paris, June 3rd, 1814. This present home of the German Hardenbergs, as seen by the illustration, is kept by its owner in perfect condition.

In the Fifteenth Century, the branch of this noble family whose descendants finally came to America removed to Holland. They have left as a memorial of their presence in that country the town of Hardenbergh on the River Vechte, twenty-three miles from Zwolle, the capital of Overijssel. In Holland the letter "H" was added to the German name, and henceforth both in Holland and America it has been spelt *Hardenbergh*.

In the town of Hardenbergh, Holland, was born, in 1510, Albrecht Hardenbergh, an eminent divine, who died in 1574, and who, while studying theology at Louvain, embraced the Reformed faith, became a friend of Melancthon, and gained notoriety in church history for his attempt, in 1536, to introduce into the Republic of Bremen the doctrine of Calvin respecting the Lord's Supper.

Three distinguished clergymen of the Reformed Dutch Church in New York and New Jersey, namely, Jacob Rutsen Hardenbergh, first President of Rutgers College, New Brunswick, New Jersey; the Reverend Charles Hardenbergh, a Trustee of Rutgers College, and Pastor of the Dutch Church in New York City, and the Reverend James Bruyn Hardenbergh, D. D., (born in June, 1800, and who died in New York City, in 1870), have proved the strength of heredity by their zeal as preachers of the Gospel of Christ.

The first Hardenbergh to appear on record in America was Arnoldus von Hardenbergh, a free merchant of New Amsterdam. He cast anchor off Manhattan Island in 1644, bringing with him a cargo for his brother, Jan. A Hollander by birth and lineage, he took an active part in public affairs, and in 1645 was chosen one of the "Nine Men" who, according to an old record, were chosen on account of their birth, ability, and wealth to govern the new Colony. Later he became dissatisfied with the action of the New Netherland officials and appealed to the Hague, and for so doing was fined twenty-five Guilders. This resulted in a controversy with Governor Stuyvesant, and Hardenbergh returned to Holland, to secure, if possible, the Governor's removal from office. He probably remained there, as there is no subsequent record of his residence in America.

Jan van Hardenbergh was the brother for whom Arnoldus brought over a cargo in 1664. He came to America from Holland prior to this date, as he was a land holder in New Amsterdam, according to a deed executed to Frederick Lubberse, April 30, 1659. This deed mentions "a house, lot and garden, fenced, built and bounded," on the northwest corner of Heere-graph and Browsers Street, or what is now the corner of Broad and Stone Streets in the City of New York.

Gerrit Janse Hardenbergh, son of Jan, was owner and captain of a sloop, known as the *Royal Albany*, which plied between New York and Albany on the Hudson River. It was a vessel of goodly dimensions, as May 19th, 1690, he and his sloop were commissioned to war against the French in Canada, by Governor Jacob Leisler, who addressed him as "Captain Janse Hardenbergh, Commander of the sloop *Royal Albany*, in whose prudence, courage and ability, he reposed great trust and confidence."

He married, about 1666, Jaepie Schepmoes, daughter of Jan Jansen Schepmoes, a near neighbor in New Amsterdam of his father. In 1669, he purchased a lot in Albany on Chapel Street and Maiden Lane. He bought another on Maiden Lane, between North Pearl and Chapel Streets, in 1672, and in 1676, another on State Street, between North Pearl and Chapel Streets. He had a child baptizd in Albany in 1683, but in 1686 he and his wife appear as residents of New York City, in a list of the members of the Reformed Church of New York, made by the Reverend Henricus Selyns, and are then represented as dwelling in a house on Pearl Street between State and Whitehall Streets. He left eight children, his only son being Major Johannes Hardenbergh.

Johannes Hardenbergh, son of Gerrit Janse Hardenbergh and Jaepie Schepmoes, was born at Albany about 1670. He appears on record January 2nd, 1689, as the purchaser of a lot in the village of Kingston, Ulster County, New York. He was commissioned High Sheriff of Ulster County in 1690, by Jacob Leisler, Governor of New York. He was a trustee of Kingston from 1707 to 1712, and was Major of the Ulster County Militia in the Regiment of Colonel Jacob Rutsen in 1728. Although at a later date he was Colonel of the same Regiment, he is invariably designated as Major Johannes Hardenberg. He was a member of the New York Colonial Assembly from 1737 to 1745. He was thus intimately associated with public affairs for more than half a century, but his renown as a public officer was eclipsed by his fame as the principal proprietor of the Great or Hardenbergh Patent. This Patent contained two million acres of land, comprising the present counties of Ulster, Orange, Greene, Sullivan and Delaware in the State of New York. This land was purchased from the Indians in 1706 and confirmed by Royal Grant under Queen Anne in 1708 to Johannes Hardenbergh and six others.

The circumstances attending this Grant are interesting. At the beginning of the war between England and France, in 1702, young Hardenbergh determined to go to the home-country and offer his services to the allied English and Dutch forces. Sprung from a line of statesmen, clergymen, and soldiers, he deemed this his duty. He carried out his purpose, and was rewarded by being knighted at Blenheim, for gallantry in action, on the recommendation of the great Duke of Marlborough. He returned, therefore, to Kingston as *Sir* Johannes Hardenbergh, although he never cared to use the title. No doubt Queen Anne was



de Rapalié

ARMS OF JORIS JANSEN DE RAPALIE,
NEW AMSTERDAM, 1623

This ancestry was brought into the Hardenbergh family through
the marriage of Major Sir Johannes Hardenbergh with
Catherine Rutsen, a descendant of the de Rapalies.

influenced by her knowledge of his career when, in 1708, she made him the principal owner of the largest Patent ever granted in America.

Major Sir Johannes Hardenbergh became the father and grandfather of three of our most distinguished Revolutionary patriots, Colonel Johannes Hardenbergh of Rosendale, who was one of Washington's field officers and a member of the Colonial Assembly, Reverend Jacob Rutsen Hardenbergh, the first President of Rutgers College, New Brunswick, New Jersey, and Johannes G. Hardenbergh of Kerhonkson, New York.

Colonel Johannes Hardenbergh of Rosendale was the son of Major Sir Johannes Hardenbergh and Catherine Rutsen. He was born at Kingston, Ulster County, New York, June 1st, 1706, and there baptized July 28th, 1706. He resided at Rosendale, between New Paltz and Kingston, and there he died on Sunday, August 20th, 1786.

The beautiful Colonial house at Rosendale was built in 1680 by his maternal grandfather, Colonel Jacob Rutsen. Built of stone, with massive beams and heavy doors, it remained in the Hardenbergh family until 1800, and was then bought by the Cornell family. Negotiations were on foot, looking toward the return of this house to the Hardenbergh family, when, early in July, 1911, it was struck by lightning and totally destroyed. Fortunately, photographs had been taken before this calamity occurred.

Colonel Hardenbergh was a large land holder and a prominent man in all public affairs. He was Colonel of the First Regiment of Ulster County Militia for twenty years and as such is mentioned in a letter from Sir William Johnson, bearing date March 23rd, 1756, which says that Colonel Hardenbergh of Ulster County gave to Sir William timely notice of an Indian attack. He was a member of the Colonial Assembly from 1743 to 1750, and a member of the State Legislature from 1781 to 1782. In 1763 he is on record as a Justice of the Peace. He was a member of the first Provincial Congress, which met at New York, May 23rd, 1775, and by this Congress was commissioned a Colonel in the regular Army, October 25th, 1775. He is mentioned in the "New York Archives of the Revolution," among the field officers, as Colonel Johannes Hardenbergh. For many years he was engaged in litigation in defending the title of the Hardenbergh Patent and carried the contest to a successful issue.

In June, 1782, Colonel Hardenbergh entertained General and Mrs. Washington at his home in Rosendale. In August, 1777, Mrs. Washington and Governor Clinton were also there entertained. The original of the following letter is extant, and is in the possession of the Cornell family.

"Kingston, August, 1777.

"To Colonel Johannes Hardenbergh,
"Rosendale.

"Dear Sir,

"His excellency Governor Clinton and Mrs. George Washington will leave

here in the morning for General Washington's Headquarters at Newburg. They will do themselves the honor of breakfasting with you at Hardenbergh Hall at 8.30 o'clock.

"Very respectfully,
"Varick, Secretary."

Colonel Hardenbergh was an active Elder in the Reformed Dutch Church and was one of the original Trustees from the State of New York for Queen's College, now Rutgers College, at New Brunswick, New Jersey. His name is mentioned in the charter for the College, granted in 1770 by King George III and the Governor of New Jersey, William Franklin.

He married in Kingston, New York, December 6th, 1728, Maria Du Bois, and their son, Jacob Rutsen Hardenbergh, was the first President of Rutgers College. Colonel Hardenbergh died at Rosendale, August 20th, 1786.

Rev. Jacob Rutsen Hardenbergh, D. D.,¹ S. T. D., son of Colonel Johannes Hardenbergh and Maria Du Bois, was born at Rosendale, and baptized at Kingston, February 22nd, 1736. He died at New Brunswick, New Jersey, October 30th, 1790. He studied divinity with the Rev. John Frelinghuysen at Somerville, New Jersey, and became pastor of the Raritan churches. Later, when made President of Queen's, now Rutgers College, he accepted the position in connection with the pastoral care of the First Church of New Brunswick. The labor of filling these two positions was exceedingly arduous. With only a single assistant in the College, he was "a teacher of the whole circle of the sciences and liberal arts," and so discharged his parochial duties that "as minister and pastor he was not excelled." At each Communion season he welcomed members into the church, and "his entire ministry seems to have been a continual revival." But the task was too severe; he gradually wasted his strength and sank under a burden too heavy for one man, however fortified with genius or industry, to sustain.

During the conflict with Great Britain he was among our most active and enthusiastic patriots. A warm personal friend of Washington, he was a prominent member of the Convention which framed the first Constitution of New Jersey. His public zeal for his native land, and his patriotic and fearless sermons provoked the enmity of his Tory neighbors, and endangered his life. The British General offered a reward of one hundred pounds for his apprehension. His peril was such that he was obliged to sleep with a loaded musket by the side of his bed and was frequently compelled to leave his home fully armed and to roam about the country, to avoid being seized by Tories. On several occasions he narrowly escaped with his life.

While the Revolutionary struggle was in progress, the army of Washington was encamped for two winters within the bounds of the Congregations to which Doctor Hardenbergh ministered. Washington's Headquarters were in the first house west of Doctor Hardenbergh's residence at Somerville, New Jersey. Both



THE STAIRCASE AT ROSENDALE



JACOBUS BRUYN

From a painting made about 1700, now in the possession of Miss Forsyth of Kingston, New York. His great-granddaughter, Blandina Bruyn, married John I. Hardenbergh of Rochester (now Accord), Ulster County, New York.

houses are still standing. Washington frequently visited the Doctor at his home, as a friend, and several letters passed between them.

A sketch of Doctor Jacob Rutsen Hardenbergh, and of his home at Somerville, New Jersey, would be incomplete, were no mention made of his wife, Dinah van Bergh, the widow of the Reverend John Frelinghuysen, whom Hardenbergh married March 18th, 1756.

Prior to 1800, when a young man felt called to be a minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, he was obliged to go to Holland for his theological course, this Church having at that time no Theological Seminary in America. John Frelinghuysen was one of those who did this. While studying in Amsterdam, about 1749, he fell in love with Dinah van Bergh, the daughter of people of wealth and fashion. So strongly was his affection reciprocated that she consented to leave family and friends, and sailed for the far-off, new country as the wife of this young clergyman. Her father loaded the sailing vessel which brought them across the Atlantic with brick, with which to build a home. They settled in Somerville, building the substantial house, which is still standing, with the bricks brought from the mother-country. A stair rail and a fine carved mantel, also brought with them, are well worth seeing. This house was built in 1750, and is to-day called both the Frelinghuysen and the Hardenbergh house.

The Reverend Mr. Frelinghuysen soon started a class in theology, which was the beginning of a Divinity School. Among his pupils was Jacob Rutsen Hardenbergh.

Mr. Frelinghuysen died only three years after his marriage, and Dinah, his wife, prepared to leave America, where she had already become a great force for good. In the Sage Library at New Brunswick there is a folio volume of sixty pages, written in Dutch, and known as the "Diary of Dinah van Bergh." This diary gives evidence of her literary taste and culture. She established the first Sunday School in New Jersey, and her advice in spiritual matters was sought by many. She was in the constant habit of making everything which concerned her a matter of prayer, seeking guidance from God.

Young Hardenbergh, though thirteen years her junior, attempted to persuade her to remain in America as his wife and to continue her good work. At first she was astounded at his proposal, rejecting it positively. Her vessel was to sail the next day. The moment came for her to embark with her two children. A terrible storm arose, and Dinah became convinced that a sign of God's will was thus vouchsafed her. She then yielded to her young and ardent lover. They were married, and she went to the manorial homestead of her new husband's father at Rosendale, where she awaited his majority and the completion of his studies. Hardenbergh was at this time seventeen, and his wife approaching thirty. She was called one of the most remarkable women of this century and no doubt her strong religious character and unusual mental powers helped her husband achieve his brilliant career.

Doctor Hardenbergh and Dinah van Bergh are buried side by side in the churchyard of the old Dutch Church in New Brunswick. He died first, at the age of fifty-five, in 1799. She survived him seventeen years, departing this life in 1807, at the advanced age of eighty-five. On his tombstone is a long and eloquent tribute to his character as a patriot and a clergyman, written by Reverend John H. Livingston, D. D.

Sixteen miles from Kingston, New York, at Kerhonkson, Ulster County, where one to-day takes the stages for Lake Minnewaska, stands an old stone house, built in 1762 by Johannes G. Hardenbergh, grandson of Sir Johannes Hardenbergh, the patentee. Over the outer door is a stone which gives the date of erection. The monograms of the members of the family are cut in it. In these monograms are the letters of each syllable of the name of Hardenbergh. This house is to-day called by all the neighbors the "Old Fort." It is fast going to decay and should be rescued before it is too late.

The patriot whose home it was was the leader of the American cause up this valley during the Revolution. This region suffered terribly from raids of Indians and Tories during five years. The Legislature made a number of appropriations to help widows and orphans bereft in these raids, and the money was placed in the hands of this good and wise man to be helpfully distributed. Thomas E. Benedict of Ellenville, N. Y., has in his possession many receipts given by such widows to Johannes G. Hardenbergh, which state on what occasion they were given, and show how carefully and promptly the assistance of the State was rendered through him to the sufferers in their hour of need.

When Fort Clinton and Fort Montgomery, near West Point, were captured by the British, it was feared they would march on Kingston. The public records of New York State, together with those of New York when a Colony, were kept in Kingston, in charge of Samuel Bayard, Jr., who, with the assistance of the Vigilance Committee, loaded them in ten wagons, and they were taken to this Hardenbergh house and placed in the owner's care. This foresight proved to be justified, as Kingston was burnt four days afterward. The records and the house were at all times under guard.

In the churchyard of the old Dutch Church at Kingston, Ulster County, New York, is a handsome, horizontal tombstone, resting on four pedestals, like a table, with this inscription:

In memory of
Johannes G. Hardenbergh
who departed this life April 10, 1812
aged 80 years - 9 mos. and 17 days.

Also
[840]



KATRINA SCHOONMAKER, THE WIFE OF JACOBUS BRUYN
The original painting was made about 1706, and is owned by
Miss Forsyth of Kingston, New York.



THE REVEREND JAMES BRUYN HARDENBERGH, D. D.

Cornelia Du Bois, his wife
who departed this life May 10, 1819,
aged 82 years, 3 mos. and 28 days.
They died as they lived, they lived as they died
In the fear of the Lord.

Reverend James Bruyn Hardenbergh, D. D., was the grandson of the last-named patriot, Johannes G. Hardenbergh, and son of John I. Hardenbergh of Rochester (now called Accord), Ulster County, New York. He was born at Rochester, June 28th, 1800. On his mother's side he was of Huguenot blood, on his father's of both Dutch and Huguenot lineage. His mother was Blandina Bruyn, great-granddaughter of Jacobus Bruyn and Katrina Schoonmaker, prominent in Colonial history. Though tracing his Hollandish and German ancestry back to the Eleventh Century, he was also a Huguenot of the Huguenots, through intermarriages between the Hardenburgh, Du Bois and de Rappelye families. On both sides, for generations, he was of the seed of the righteous.

Reverend James Bruyn Hardenbergh was graduated at Union College, at Schenectady, New York, in 1821. While there he became a member of the Phi Beta Kappa Society.* He entered the New Brunswick, New Jersey, Theological School, and graduated from there in 1824. He was a clergyman of the Reformed Dutch Church and had the following congregations in his care: Heldeberg, New York; New Brunswick, New Jersey; Orchard Street, New York City; Rhinebeck, New York (1830 to 1836); Philadelphia (1836 to 1840; Franklin Street, New York City (1840 to 1856).

This last church was removed to West Twenty-third Street while under his charge, and from it in January, 1870, his impressive funeral took place. The church has since been removed to Madison Avenue and Fifty-seventh Street, where a tablet to his memory has been placed at the right of the pulpit, and where can be seen in the church parlor a large portrait of him.

He was elected Trustee of Rutgers College of New Brunswick in 1825, which position he held until his death in 1870, and he was, with two other gentlemen, the founder of the College Grammar School.

As a preacher, Doctor Hardenbergh was able, forcible, and instructive. Doctor George W. Bethune, whose opportunity and ability to judge were unquestioned, was accustomed to state that no man excelled him as a pastor.

In stature he was above the usual standard and presented a most commanding physical presence. He would attract attention from strangers passing him in the city streets by his dignified and noble bearing, and unusual beauty of countenance. During the short four years of his ministry in Philadelphia, two hundred and twenty-two persons were added to the communion. In 1856, his health broke

*Membership in this Greek-Letter Society is conferred only on the Honor Men of a graduating class at college, and is, therefore, a distinction awarded to scholarship.—The Editor.



♦ Van Ysselsteyn ♦

ARMS OF ONE OF THE HARDENBERGH ANCESTRAL LINES
Marten Cornelise Van Ysselsteyn was a Proprietor of Schenectady
New York, in 1663. His daughter, Geertie, married Jacobus
Bruyn. Their son, Jacobus, was the great-grandfather of
Blandina Bruyn, who married John I. Hardenbergh.

down under the severe strain to which he voluntarily subjected himself. He gave up his pastorate, and was advised to seek rest and recuperation abroad—but wherever he went he labored for his Master. In Paris they begged him to remain, for there was as yet no American chapel there. In Havre he ministered to the sailors, going from ship to ship along the quays, with cheering words and the message of the Gospel. In Macon and Savannah, Georgia, where he also went for rest, he preached continually, the churches in those places inviting him to return as their pastor.

Finally, a few years before his death, he returned to his home in New York, apparently with renewed health. He at once sought work and found it,—not where, in the judgment of men, his years, culture, and experience would have placed him, but among the poor and lowly. The commodious church building at the corner of Madison and Gouverneur Streets was, by the generosity of his son-in-law, Mr. Loring Andrews, placed at his disposal. He accepted it joyfully and entered at once on a laborious, constant, and devoted missionary service. He established a complete routine of services, Sunday and Industrial Schools, and visited from house to house, from garret to cellar, through crowded tenements, in store and shop, carrying the glad tidings and bringing up with solemn joy, communion after communion, “the golden sheaves of his harvest to the garner.”

The competency with which God had blessed him he accepted as a sacred trust, and would never receive the slightest remuneration for these last self-sacrificing years.

He died at the age of seventy, January 22nd, 1870, at his home, Number Fifty-eight West Twenty-first Street, New York City. He is buried in Greenwood Cemetery, where a tall and beautiful granite shaft has by loving hands been erected to his memory.





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The Danish West Indies and American Ownership

BY

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HE recent attempts of the United States to annex the Danish West India Islands and the rejection by Denmark of the treaty which was to have made them American territory, have attracted public attention to the islands themselves and to former attempts at purchase by our government. Events occurring since the Spanish-American War, especially the certainty of our isthmian canal controlled by the United States, lend interest to the matter and explain why our government has deemed the purchase particularly desirable.

The group of islands known as the Danish West Indies are three in number: St. Thomas, St. John, and St. Croix. St. Thomas and St. John belong to the group named the Virgin Islands which is a sort of connecting link between the Greater and Lesser Antilles. St. Croix belongs to the group of many little islands southeast of St. Thomas and St. John known as the Lesser Antilles. St. Thomas and St. John lie in about 18 degrees 20 minutes north latitude and about 65 degrees west longitude, while St. Croix is less than fifty miles distant to the south. St. Croix is not over sixty miles off the southeast coast of Porto Rico, while the other two islands are even nearer off the eastern coast. The statements giving size of the islands vary somewhat,¹ but the area of St. Thomas is about thirty-two square miles; St. John has about twenty-one,² and St. Croix eighty-four square miles.

The surface of the group varies from the low coast plain to undulating plains, hills, and mountains, with many narrow valleys. The shores are generally surrounded with coral reefs. In St. Croix there are several creeks running through the valleys, but in the other two islands there is not much running water. Of St. Croix's eighty-four square miles, sixty-eight are tillable. The cultivable area of St. Thomas is less, even after allowance is made for its smaller size, owing to more hills and mountains, while St. John has but little tillable soil. The islands are of volcanic origin and are frequently subject to severe earthquakes, often causing serious damage.

¹ Tooke-Journal Amer. Ec. Association, p. 144.

² International Year Book, 1900.

As the latitude would indicate, the climate is tropical. The temperature is high and does not vary much during the year. It is said there are not more than three degrees difference between the warmest month, August, and February, the coldest, but Mr. R. F. Hill says the climate of St. Croix ranges from sixty-six to eighty-two degrees.² Trade winds blow almost the entire year and the islands occasionally have been visited by fierce and destructive hurricanes, especially in 1819, 1837, 1867, and 1898. The fact that the temperature is high and the plant and insect life abundant,³ makes the climate enervating in the lower parts of the islands and hard on people used to temperate latitudes.⁴ Springs and fresh running water are not plentiful, and droughts causing crop failure are numerous.

Historically, the little islands are interesting.⁵ They were discovered by Columbus in his second voyage to America and were probably named by him. The islands were inhabited by fierce cannibalistic Carib Indians, who lived here until about 1550. It is not quite certain whether the Dutch settled first, but the Dutch and English conjointly settled St. Croix in 1625. In 1694 the Dutch were driven out by the English and abandoned the island, but some French settlers came in. In 1650 the Spaniards from Porto Rico seized St. Croix and expelled the English to the Bermudas. In 1653 the French got control and that same year the island and several others were sold to the Knights of Malta by Louis XIV. This order held St. Croix until 1665, when the French West India Company got it. This company failed in 1674 and the crown took back the territory. It proved a poor investment and by 1695 the French government abandoned the country, moving its one hundred and forty-seven white people and six hundred and twenty-three blacks to San Domingo. The island then remained uninhabited until 1733. It was visited by all nations, but the French still claimed it and finally in June, 1733, they sold their claim to the King of Denmark for \$375,000.

It is not positively known when St. Thomas was first settled, but a Copenhagen trading company got possession of the territory for Denmark about 1666. There had been other settlers on the island, probably English and Dutch, prior to this. The English captured all the Virgin group of Islands, but not liking St. Thomas, abandoned it for more fertile places.⁶ In 1671 Danish trading companies seized the island as uninhabited territory and after some trouble with the English, proved their rights to it. The Danes also took possession of St. John about 1684, but did little in settling prior to 1716. In 1679 slavery was introduced and the slave trade continued until 1792, when the Danish government declared it illegal, and by 1803 absolutely abolished it. In 1724 St. Thomas was declared an open port to the commerce of the world and it proved a great trading place. The Danish trading companies, in order to monopolize commerce, excluded

¹ United States Senate Reports No. 816, p. 3.

² Hill's Cuba and Porto Rico, p. 314.

³ Trollope's West Indies and the Sp. Main, p. 222-224.

⁴ The Arena, Vol. 28, p. 243.

⁵ House Docs. No. 15, p. 2768.

⁶ Sen. Doc. No. 284, p. 14-15.

the Dutch from their harbor in 1736 and this proved ruinous. The condition of the islands became so bad that the Danish crown, in 1758, bought them and they have belonged to the government of Denmark ever since, except for a short time in 1801, and from 1807 to 1815, when as a war measure, the English seized and held them. Denmark, to get the islands back in 1815, ceded to English Heligoland for them. Except for some very severe storms, earthquakes and slave insurrections, the history of the islands is not eventful. In 1819 and 1837 very severe storms, and in 1867 a terrible earthquake did immense damage to life and property. In 1733 occurred the first troublesome slave insurrection in St. John, causing loss of life to whites and had to be put down by help of St. Domingo. In 1847 gradual emancipation was provided for by making all children born after that date free and abolishing all slavery after the end of twelve years. This was not satisfactory, and in 1848, after a dangerous insurrection, all the slaves, numbering twenty hundred in St. Croix, thirty-five hundred in St. Thomas, and twenty-five hundred in St. John, were given full freedom by proclamation of the government.

The commerce and commercial activity of the islands are not what they formerly were.¹ Since steam and electricity have been introduced, these islands, which were once noted distributing centres, stopping places for refitting and taking stores, are now little more than only calling stations. St. Thomas was, at the time when Great Britain had charge of the islands, the great distributing station for all the West Indies. Sometimes as many as four hundred sailing vessels per month, and not fewer than one hundred, would land there. The number of vessels reaching these islands is not nearly so great now, nor the trade so extensive. The islands have a tariff system, but Danish goods from Danish vessels pay no duty, and only a small duty is levied upon goods from other countries.² The currency of the islands is a Danish silver dollar, minor coins, and limited issues of bank notes by a local institution. The most recent statistics are not available, but from 1884-1894 the imports of St. Croix exceeded the exports in every year but one, and the average annual excess of the value of imports over exports for the five years from 1889-1894 was \$132,557. The leading exports from St. Croix are sugar, molasses, goatskins, cotton, and a very little rum. The leading imports are, in order named, cereals, animal foodstuffs, textiles, wood, and manufacturers of, and crude minerals.³ St. Croix's imports from 1889-1894 averaged about \$747,000 annually. Of St. Thomas and St. John the value of imports is much greater for the same period though the population of St. Croix is much larger and was more prosperous until recently, but is now also decreasing. More trade in St. Thomas is explained by the good harbor and distributing centre being located within its bounds. Of six main articles of imports, which comprise three-fourths

¹Independent, January 11, 1900.

²Cosmopolitan, Vol. IV, September, 1887.

³House Doc. No. 15, pp. 2771-72.

of all the imports into St. Thomas from 1884-1889, inclusive, the average annual value was \$182,318. For the years from 1889-1894, inclusive, the average annual imports were valued at only \$139,116, which shows a marked decline. The exports from these two islands amounted to but little—the only articles at present worth mentioning being a little bay rum, bay oil, and lime juice. Sugar production in Europe from the beet has hurt the cane sugar industry greatly, but modern methods in producing might overcome this difficulty in the islands.¹ The Royal Mail Steamship Co., so important a factor in the West Indies, moved its headquarters to the Barbadoes and hurt the islands greatly from a commercial standpoint. Everywhere may be seen abandoned sugar houses, and thrift is greatly lacking. The islands still have fair connections with Europe and America. The French mail stops once a month; German and English mails twice per month; and communication with America through the Quebec lines is had once or twice per month. As the people do not like farming, they are emigrating, and property values are declining.² The total imports to all the islands from the United States have for many years exceeded one-fourth of the whole amount of imports, and are now about one-third of the whole. France leads in the import trade, while the United States takes the largest part of the exports.³ In 1900, the Danish West Indies sold to the United States goods amounting to \$568,935, the great part of which was sugar, while the United States sold them the same year goods having the value of \$624,524. Of the total sugar crop 8,126 tons in 1911 for all the islands, the United States received 5,742 tons, valued at \$347,305. The provision and coal trade is with Europe. From a commercial standpoint, the United States has not lost with these islands as have other countries, but it is evident that unless a revival of new industries takes place there must soon be a great falling off in our trade with them.

Considering the population of the islands, we find they had in 1828 forty-six thousand three hundred people.⁴ Of these St. Croix had twenty-five thousand three hundred and fifty—nineteen thousand seven hundred and fifty being slaves. In 1841 the population had declined to forty-one thousand.⁵ By 1890 it had shrunk to thirty-two thousand eight hundred. St. John stopped growing sugar in 1890 and its population dropped rapidly from twenty-six hundred to about one thousand at present. St. Thomas⁶ had, in 1900, about twelve thousand people, and of these ten thousand live in Charlotte Amalie. St. Croix had about eighteen thousand people, of whom thirty-seven hundred lived in Frederiksted, and fifty-five hundred in Christiansted. The population of the islands at present is chiefly negroes, descendants of slaves imported from Africa one and two centuries ago. The laboring people are almost all black. Only one-sixth of the thirty-two thousand

¹ Hill's Cuba and Porto Rico, p. 814.

² German Con. Reports, 1889-90.

³ International Year Book, 1900.

⁴ Hovey Letters from the West Indies.

⁵ Arena, Vol. 28, pp. 244-245.

⁶ Outlook, Vol. 70, p. 500.

people in 1902 were white.¹ The language spoken is chiefly English. Little Danish is heard, though at St. Thomas, owing to the harbor, almost all modern languages are used even by the natives. The people live in one- and two-story houses and there are signs of decay everywhere. Mr. Anthony Trollope,² the novelist, visiting the islands about 1860, discussed them and their population very unfavorably. He called the islands "one of the hottest and most unhealthy spots among all these hot and unhealthy regions" and thinks them worst of all, especially for yellow fever. He described the people as "an Hispano-Dano-Niggery-Yankee-doodle population" and ridiculed towns, people's manners, and food in a not very elegant and much too severe a manner to be just. It may be said in favor of the people at present that a fair English education in compulsory schools is given them, and this of itself ought to mean something better for the future. Most of the natives, both white and black, are intelligent and have boundless hospitality.³

The organization of the government and law of the Danish West Indies as they now are dates back to 1863. The law forming a scheme of government then passed has about eighty-six sections and has had but a very few slight modifications since. For administrative purposes⁴ the islands are divided into two districts: St. Croix and the little islands adjacent form one, and St. Thomas and St. John, with adjacent isles, the other. Each one of these districts is called a commune. Primarily, matters of legislation are in the hands of the Danish Rigsdag, but the law-making power is vested in the king and two colonial councils, one from each commune, with the Rigsdag having veto power. The governor is the leading executive officer. He has only minor appointive power, for the king appoints leading officials of the islands and may remove any but the judges of the courts. The governor has an assistant, the vice-governor, and each resides alternately in one commune six months at a time. They are called over-superiors, are commanders-in-chief of the militia and are to see that all laws are executed.

The legislative function of the islands is vested in two colonial councils—one from each commune. The St. Croix commune elects by popular vote thirteen councilors from three districts, and the king appoints five. The St. Thomas commune elects eleven councilors from three districts, and the king appoints four. The members of the council are elected for four years, one-half retiring every two years. All males twenty-five years of age, being residents of the commune two years, in the district six months, and registered as possessing a small prescribed amount of property, may vote. The council meets every two months at a date set by the governor, and one-half of its members constitute a quorum. Both English and Danish are used in debates and the journal is kept in both languages.⁵ The governor or any member may initiate legislation of any sort and, in case of

¹ The Statesman's Year Book (1912) and the New International Year Book (1911) show the population is steadily decreasing. Both authorities agree upon 27,086 for the census now.

² W. Indies and Sp. Main, pp. 225-230.

³ Rev. of Revs., Mch., 1902.

⁴ Tooke-Jour. Amer. Ec. Assoc'n, pp. 145-47.

⁵ Tooke-Jour. Amer. Ec. Assoc'n, pp. 148-149.

needed laws on the same subject for both communes, the governor may propose that each council bill upon the matter involved be referred to a joint committee of the two divisions. The court system of the islands is very simple and needs but brief mention. They have local courts corresponding to ours in township, town, and city, and the superior court of Denmark is the high court of appeal.

Should the United States purchase the islands the question of government would at once arise. It can only be conjectured what would be done. After the Senate ratified the last treaty of purchase in 1902, the current discussions in the press pointed toward forming them into a territorial government similar to Porto Rico and Hawaii if Denmark sold to us. The press at that time even felt certain that Mr. Jacob Riis, a distinguished Danish-American citizen, would be the first governor. It was also proposed to put them, if ceded then, under Porto Rico and give them free trade with us.¹ It may be said the trouble in getting the status of Porto Rican trade settled quieted the annexation ardor considerably and helped somewhat to determine Denmark's final action. The same interests which opposed free trade between the United States and Porto Rico would no doubt oppose it with the Danish West Indies.

The purchase of the islands as a good business investment would be a doubtful venture. The revenue raised by the government is small. Duties are both specific and *ad valorem* and there is a direct and indirect tax, the latter forming most of the revenue. In the law of 1863, when the government was reorganized, it was decreed that the islands should contribute annually for ten years to the treasury of Denmark, but only three years of the ten did the revenue exceed fixed local expenditures.² Since 1879 in no year has there been a surplus in St. Thomas and St. John and the deficit has grown until in some years it has reached \$90,000. In St. Croix the deficit has some years been as much as \$100,000. Since 1871 there has been a steady increase of indebtedness and by 1898 there was an indebtedness of nearly \$2,000,000 hanging over the islands.³ Besides this deficit St. Croix borrowed \$238,000, on which sum she has not, according to data, even been able to pay the interest since 1884. The deficit and total indebtedness are growing annually, and with the decreasing population there is practically no hope for the islands ever to pay out. Professor C. W. Tooke gives the following reasons for this financial depression: Continual drought and poor crops in succession; the increase of military expense since the insurrection of 1878; the increase of poor rates and pension charges; the inability to levy more direct or indirect taxes; the decline of sugar industry; and the fact that St. Thomas is no longer the distributing port of neighboring islands. With these conditions existing and no increased intensive cultivation of the soil, the islands are bound to be a burden to Denmark as long as she retains them.

¹ Rev. of Revs., Mch. 1902, pp. 270-74.

² Tooke-Jour Amer. Ec. Assoc'n, pp. 157-158.

³ Arena, Vol. 28, p. 244.

The great value of these islands to the United States would be as harbors and naval stations.¹ During the Civil War it was demonstrated that one of the federal government's greatest weaknesses was the lack of a navel station and harbor in the West Indies. Our navy was then compelled to send prizes and injured steamers for repairs a distance of fifteen hundred miles. The building of the inter-oceanic canal in southern waters will make the need of a port of entry in that region more necessary than ever.² The question of a naval station has been much discussed in recent years and in the St. Louis convention of 1896 the Republican party pledged itself to getting a harbor by the purchase of the Danish West Indies. Since that time it is true we have acquired Porto Rico and gotten the naval station at San Juan, but this last named harbor is not considered available since it is good only for light draft vessels.³ It is also maintained that Porto Rico has not enough food to sustain a siege and is difficult of protection, both important items of consideration. The surface of St. Thomas is such as to have a central ridge one thousand feet in elevation, with some points five hundred feet higher, which can be fortified so as to control both shores of the island. The town is built upon three hills arranged in a semi-circle around the harbor and almost encircling it. With the small population a long siege could be endured and the Charlotte Amalia harbor, or St. Thomas, as it is generally known, is wind protection, which is not true of San Juan.⁴ San Juan harbor is exposed to storms from the north and has only five to six fathoms of water. St. Thomas has nowhere less than eighteen feet depth, and three-fourths of it ranges from thirty to ninety feet. In 1911 steps were taken to deepen the one-fourth of the harbor, only eighteen feet now, to thirty-two feet depth.⁵ The average battle ship needs four fathoms of water and San Juan has little more. St. Thomas is situated in the middle of the island on the south side and equals the best harbors of the world. It is said the harbor might easily shelter at the same time the combined fleets of the whole world.⁶ The port has a military and commercial strategic value, "is the key stone to the arch of the West Indies," as Admiral Porter said, and controls the Carribbean Sea and southern waters. Mr. W. E. Curtis says the harbor could be fortified so that no foreign power could ever hope to take it. England and France have ports in the West Indies and these nations are known to have objected to our attempts at purchase of the Danish islands. These islands are in line from Europe to any Cuban, Mexican, Central American, or Brazilian port, and are, moreover, out in the open ocean, thus allowing a fleet undiscovered entrance and exit. St. John has also a splendid little harbor called Coral Bay, where one hundred ships might lie in ordinary weather.

The St. Thomas harbor, being "on the way to every other place," would have

¹ Lothrop's Seward, 428-430.

² Pub. Opinion, Apr. 7, 1898.

³ Rev. of Revs., Feb., 1901, pp. 216-218.

⁴ Independ., Vol. 50, p. 543.

⁵ Consular and Trade Reports, Jan. 11, 1912, p. 184.

⁶ Curtis, United States and Foreign Powers, 126-131.

meant much to us in the late Hispano-American War. Cervera might have been kept out of the Caribbean. We could have taken Porto Rico easier and thus saved much in coast defenses and loss of life. This station handled one hundred thousand tons of American coal twice in the year 1899-1900. It is said, and seemingly with reason, that the Panama Canal will make St. Thomas the coaling depot of the whole middle Atlantic. The total outlay to get a good naval station like St. Thomas naturally fortified and the whole group of islands added would not be greater than the expense of getting any other one harbor in the West Indies into as good a condition as this natural Gibraltar is now. The value of such a port can best be given in the words of Mr. Wolfred Nelson in *Harper's Weekly*:¹ "A navy of modern fighting machines without coaling stations, in peace or war, will mean maritime paralysis when war comes."

Rumors of attempts to purchase the Danish West Indies began early in our national history. During Jackson's first administration American merchants pressed their claims for settlements of indebtedness against Denmark. It was reported in our newspapers then that Denmark would cede us her West India islands to satisfy our financial claims. Niles' Register² calls the report "improbable" and says, "it is not at all likely that she will offer them—and pretty certain, we think, that the United States would not accept them—on any account." This shows that little value and importance were attached to the islands at that date. Until the Civil War we had occasional arguments favoring the purchase and even seizure of all the West Indies. This desire for ownership generally came from the south, interested in more slave territory rather than in good harbors, or from the party of "Young America," preaching manifest destiny. Nothing however, came of it. On account of England's attitude during the war President Lincoln seemed anxious that we acquire a harbor in the West Indies. Admirals Farragut and Porter both highly recommended St. Thomas. At a dinner given January 7, 1865, by M. Geoffrey, *Chargé d'Affaires* of France, to the diplomatic corps at Washington, were present Secretary of State Seward and General Raasloff, the Danish minister to our government.³ General Raasloff had been minister at Washington for a long time and was very popular among American officials as well as foreign. It was at this dinner-party that Mr. Seward approached the Danish minister with a proposition to purchase the islands.⁴ The latter did not take kindly to the proposition. He was opposed to the sale, but agreed to refer the matter to his government. Several interruptions now occurred—one a carriage accident to Secretary Seward, incapacitating him for business, and another the assassination of President Lincoln, with an attempted murder of Mr. Seward himself.

Just two days before the assassination of Mr. Lincoln the Danish minister

¹ *Harper's Weekly*, Apr. 23, 1898, p. 395.

² *Niles' Register*, Vol. 39, Nov. 13, 1830.

³ *Parton-The Dan. Ic.*, pp. 4-10.

⁴ *Scribner's*, Vol. II, Nov., 1887.

communicated a polite refusal of his government to the proposition to sell the islands. Denmark had just recently lost two provinces to Germany and felt much humiliated. The crown and the old conservative party, however, were defeated later in 1865 by the Liberal party which revised the Constitution and reformed many old abuses. A new Ministry was created and this viewed the sale of the islands with more favor. On December 29, 1865, General Raasloff informed Mr. Seward that his government was now not wholly opposed to an offer for their isles. Mr. Seward informed the Danish minister that he could not discuss the matter then, since he did not know the views of President Johnson. He further stated he meant in a few days to sail for the West Indies to repair his broken health, and that he might visit St. Thomas. He, however, assured Mr. Raasloff that his visit would have nothing to do with the proposed purchase. Mr. Seward made the trip as intended and, though great secrecy had obtained during the preceding negotiations concerning purchase, his visit to the West Indies was interpreted by foreign governments to mean annexation by the United States. England, particularly, grew very nervous over Mr. Seward's visit.¹ The islands in question seemed to please Mr. Seward and about six months after his return to Washington he and the Danish minister tried to agree upon some price.² General Raasloff was inclined to put the price rather high, insisting that the matter was delicate and would be frowned upon by England, France, and Germany; so for the loss of their friendship the selling price must be higher than otherwise. General Raasloff's own personal opinion of the value of the islands would be twenty millions of dollars, but this price seemed made only to test the eagerness of the United States to buy. Mr. Seward, in a proposal made to the Danish minister July 17, 1866, just a few days before the latter left for Denmark, offered the Danes five millions of dollars in gold for the three islands. Mr. Seward notified General Raasloff that our minister to Denmark, Mr. George Yeaman, would take charge of the matter and that no haste was necessary. General Raasloff went to Denmark and shortly after his arrival there was appointed minister of war in the new Cabinet.

Nothing was done with the treaty during the year 1866, but on January 19, 1867, Mr. Seward sent the following brief dispatch to Mr. Yeaman at Copenhagen: "Tell Raasloff haste important." This haste was explained at that time by the fact that Admiral Porter and Mr. Frederick Seward were upon the point of sailing for St. Domingo, where they meant to examine Samona Bay harbor, which was then offered to us either for purchase or lease.³ These gentlemen sailed to St. Domingo, but nothing came of the trip as far as acquiring a harbor was concerned. The Danes hesitated and did not want to sell, but were urged to do so by the new Cabinet;⁴ then, too, the Danes began to fear their treaty might not be

¹ Parton-Dan. Is., pp. 11-17.

² House Doc. No. 15, p. 2794.

³ Rev. of Revs., Vol. 17, p. 549.

⁴ Wharton, Digest International Law, p. 417.

accepted in America. They had had no minister over here since General Raasloff left, but they could not help knowing of the bitter strife between President Johnson and Congress. They, however, took hope that no trouble would come in America to their convention from the prompt manner in which the Russian treaty for Alaska was ratified. Nothing was done in reply to the urgent telegram of Secretary Seward, above mentioned, and two months later, in March, 1867, he again telegraphed to Mr. Yeaman, demanding an answer to his proposals. Ministerial troubles and threatened strife between France and Prussia caused Denmark to delay until May 17, 1867, when they made proposal. Count Frijs, Danish minister of foreign affairs, offered the islands for fifteen millions of dollars in gold and would not cede them without the consent of their inhabitants; also his government could not dispose of St. Croix without the consent of France, from whom the Danes purchased the island in 1733, as before noted, but they would cede St. Thomas and St. John for ten millions of dollars, all subject to the consent of the Rigsdag. On May 27, 1867, Mr. Seward sent his second proposal to Mr. Yeaman, offering seven and one-half millions of dollars for the three isles, but in no case were the inhabitants to vote upon the subject. They might leave within two years after ratification and the treaty was to be ratified before August 4, 1867. Denmark rejected this proposition,¹ now demanding eleven and one-quarter millions of dollars—twenty millions of Danish rix dollars for all the islands, or seven and one-half millions for St. Thomas and St. John.² Mr. Yeaman now announced the offer of the United States withdrawn and negotiations were ended.

It was not long until Mr. Seward changed his mind and on July 6, 1867, telegraphed asking our minister to accept Denmark's offer and pay seven and one-half millions of dollars for St. Thomas and St. John. He asked for a brief "quick by cable" and for the "ratified treaty immediately." Mr. Seward wanted the isles without the vote of the islanders, but upon this point the Danish Cabinet emphatically insisted. Mr. Seward wanted this treaty in the hands of the Senate before it adjourned and strongly urged the Danes to immediate action if success of the venture might not be endangered. The Danes, being a very deliberative people and slow to act, did nothing until October, long after Congress had adjourned. To the slowness of the Danes at this juncture, owing to the political condition of the United States, must be attributed some of the blame for the future results of the venture. Mr. Yeaman sent word that Denmark was now ready to cede if we were willing to concede the vote of the islands which was certain to be favorable. They now also offered to sell us St. Croix. Mr. Seward this time yielded and consented to the vote of the islanders. After some further hesitation by Denmark caused by the murmur of displeasure of some of the European powers, the treaty was finally signed at Copenhagen, October 24, 1867.³ We were to pay

¹ House Doc. No. 15, p. 2795.

² Parton's *Danish Is.*, pp. 25-27.

³ Parton's *Danish Is.*, pp. 28-29.

seven and one-quarter millions of dollars for St. Thomas and St. John and the treaty was binding only with the consent of the inhabitants. A few occurrences during the summer of 1867 had helped to bring the affair to a close. The call of Admiral Farragut with his fleet at Copenhagen helped matters, as did also the work of Senator Doolittle, of Wisconsin. The latter was in Europe then in the interest of a proposed telegraph line around the world. He went to Copenhagen and ably assisted Minister Yeaman in making the treaty. England had made the Danish Minister to that country promise that Denmark would not sell the islands without first informing her. Denmark got out of this difficulty by repudiating her minister's acts as unauthorized and unwarranted in the premises.

The vote of the islanders now remained to be taken. The Danish government sent Edward Carstensen, an able man, as commissioner to superintend the taking of the vote. The United States sent Reverend Charles Hawley, of Auburn, New York, as an agent to answer questions of a general nature for the islanders, and to show them where a transfer of allegiance would be beneficial.¹ Dr. Hawley reached St. Thomas November 12, 1867, and Mr. Carstensen a few days later. These men began sounding public opinion among the islanders concerning the transfer. It was soon found out the questions interesting the business element of the population were the tariff and freedom of the harbor. On November 18, 1867, the commissioners met the island government officials at Christiansted in St. Croix. While this body was in session there, on that day, came one of the most terrible earthquakes that the West Indies have ever experienced. This earthquake did great damage to all the islands in life and property, and such a beginning was an ill omen for what was destined to be an ill-fated treaty. Finally, on November 26, 1867, a conference was held at St. Thomas between the resident Danish authorities, many leading business men, and the commissioners. It was plain that some understanding was necessary about the operation of the tariff at St. Thomas before a vote should be risked. At last it was decided that Messrs. Carstensen and Hawley should go to Washington and lay the case before Mr. Seward. Before the commissioners left, however, the proclamation of Christian IX dated October 25, 1867, announcing the cession of the islands and the vote thereon was published in the islands. The proclamation² stated the provisions made for protection of liberty, religion, property, and private rights. Those remaining were to choose within two years whether they wished to hold Danish or American allegiance. Those not having expressed a desire for change were at the end of that time to be considered Americans.

When the commissioners arrived at Washington they found the country excited, torn into factions politically, and the fight between President Johnson and Congress at its height. The commissioners, particularly Mr. Carstensen, made many inquiries from members of Congress and many other prominent American

¹ Miss Seward in Scribner's, Vol. II, Nov., 1887.

² Full text in Parton's Dan. Is., pp. 35-36.

citizens concerning the treaty. On question of the tariff and free harbors for the islands, Mr. Seward could not be specific, could only reply that this matter rested with Congress, but felt sure full justice would be done the islanders. Finding but little apparent opposition to the treaty and feeling that the United States could be relied upon for fair dealings, the commissioners returned to St. Thomas advising the continuance of the proceedings leading to the transfer of the islands. Afterward in the history of this treaty it developed that the people of the United States, owing to the feverish condition of the country politically, gave the question of the island purchase little thought one way or another. The vote on the transfer was taken in St. Thomas January 9, 1868, with a great deal of patriotic demonstration favorable to the United States. In St. Thomas the vote was one thousand thirty-nine cast for cession and only twenty-two against it; the vote next day in St. John was two hundred five for the treaty and none against. As far as the islanders were concerned the transfer was settled in favor of the United States and the result was at once forwarded to the Danish Ministry to be put before the Rigsdag.

When the Danish Ministry got the treaty there was evidence of mistrust that it might miscarry in our Senate. Count Frijs even intimated that our House of Representatives should vote the money necessary for the purchase before the treaty would be presented to the Rigsdag. Our minister quieted the fears of the Danes with the words of hope and cheer from Secretary Seward. The treaty was referred to the Rigsdag, passed by that body, and promptly signed by the king January 31, 1868. The time limit until the expiration of the treaty was put at four months from date of its conclusion, making it expire February 24, 1868. In the United States this was a very inopportune time, indeed, especially for the consideration of a treaty concerning the contents of which the public seemed to know so little. Public interest was aroused and centred in the impeachment of President Johnson, which began February 21, 1868. Congress adjourned on March 4th, but at once re-assembled for the trial, and after its close came the exciting campaign of that year. Mr. Seward asked for an extension of the time limit of the treaty to October 14, 1869, and it was granted. Denmark began complaints at the lack of consideration the treaty received, saying it was injuring the interests of the islands and harmful to the Danish government. All this was conceded by our government, but nothing could change the trend of affairs with us during those exciting times. Denmark was irrevocably committed to the treaty and since it was fathered by the Liberal party, which was yet young and unstable in its position, the Danish Cabinet grew very nervous. General Raasloff, who felt personally responsible for almost the whole transaction, kept pressing the matter upon Mr. Yeaman at every opportunity. Our slowness of action caused him to make a trip to this country during the winter of 1868-69 in interest of the treaty.¹ Before coming over he had urged the influence of France

¹ Seward in Scribner's, Vol. II, 1887.

and Russia in favor of ratification of the treaty and secured it on paper, but found upon arriving in America that both were insincere. General Raasloff was permitted to come before the Senate committee of foreign relations and argue his case. The Danish minister made a strong plea, laying stress on the good faith of his country, her friendly relations with us, and asked for such treatment as had been recently accorded Russia in the Alaskan purchase, but he got little response from the committee.

The question naturally arises here, was the Danish West India treaty analagous to the Alaskan purchase treaty? The Alaskan purchase proposition came up in the fall of 1866, the treaty was drawn up in March, 1867, by May was ratified in St. Petersburg and returned to us. It was ratified by our Senate with little difficulty on June 20th, and we had full possession in Sitka by October 18, 1867. The Danes felt encouraged by this quick action with Russia on the part of our government, and friends of the Danish treaty could see only discrimination in favor of a great nation and humiliation for a small one in our present attitude; especially so, since Alaska did not then seem a desirable investment. On the other hand it may be pointed out that for the same sum proposed to Denmark we got over five hundred thousand square miles more from Russia; again, Alaska, while not contiguous, may be reached overland, and it has enormous possibilities in wealth from its natural resources which Mr. Seward no doubt saw, while those of the Danish islands were very limited. The very friendly attitude of Russia toward us during our Civil War had a great deal to do with our hasty acceptance of her terms for Alaska. Russia's friendliness could not have been more cordial than Denmark's during the same period, for with true Teutonic instinct the Danes believe in a strong central government and loyally supported the cause of the North. On the whole it is useless to deny that Russia, being a first-class power, caused her in this instance to be more respected. Senator Sumner, in his speech in the Senate April 9, 1867, greatly praised Russia for her sympathy, as did other Senators speaking upon the bill, and the impression easily obtains from a study of the debate, that this idea carried more weight in securing quick ratification of the Alaskan treaty than did the thought of getting value received.

Senator Charles Sumner has been blamed for the loss of the Danish treaty. By Miss Olive Seward¹ Sumner is accused of having been prejudiced against the treaty by foreign affairs, of having written the word "adversely" on the treaty, smothering it in committee, and of never allowing it to come before the Senate for action. Another eminent authority says:² "The late Mr. Charles Sumner, then chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate who was engaged in a personal quarrel with the administration simply refused to report back the treaty to the Senate, and he was supported by a sufficient number of his com-

¹ Seward-Scribner's, Vol. II, 1837

² Schuyler's Am. Diplomacy, p. 22.

mittee and of Senators to enable the matter to be left in this position. It required new negotiations to prolong the term of ratification and it was with great difficulty that in a subsequent session the treaty was finally brought before the Senate and rejected." Mr. Martin Jones, in the *Review of Reviews*,¹ says Sumner never opposed the Danish commissioner who wanted to know about any existing opposition, and states that "Sumner raised his voice only in its support." This would convict Mr. Sumner of double dealing and hypocrisy, but this writer seems very partial to Mr. Seward and offers no proof of his statement concerning Sumner. On the part of Sumner it may be said that in his speech favoring the annexation of Alaska he stated he did not want that treaty to be made a precedent,² "at least in the independent manner of its negotiation," and again, "this treaty must not be a precedent for a system of indiscriminate and costly annexations."

The charge that false hopes had been held out to General Raasloff by Sumner, or that the latter or any of his committee were influenced by foreign intrigue against the treaty may safely be dismissed without consideration. That Senator Sumner had great influence with his committee is certain, but that he dominated it completely is not true. That especially Senator Fessenden, of Maine, had a mind of his own upon any subject is well known; all of Sumner's influence could not get Fessenden to vote for the Alaskan purchase. This interesting fact should be noted in the struggle—Seward and Raasloff themselves never felt quite safe during the time set for ratification in forcing the treaty to a vote, on account of public indifference to the subject and the quarrels and political unrest of the times. Mr. E. L. Pierce states³ the words "adversely" and "suspension of action" do not appear upon the treaty, and quotes from private correspondence in his possession the three surviving members of the former committee on foreign relations living in 1889. These gentlemen were Messrs. Cameron from Pennsylvania, Patterson from New Hampshire, and Harlan from Iowa. Mr. Cameron said the treaty "made no impression upon the committee or upon the public either." Mr. Patterson wrote in a similar vein, saying: "Some denied constitutionality and more rejected the policy of entering upon a system of annexing non-contiguous territory and outlying islands to the United States." Mr. Patterson expressed the further objection that the natives are not fit for self-government, and that in war the purchase would be the first objective point of an enemy and "require for its defence a great increase of our military and naval force." This is very interesting in showing how the attempted purchase was regarded then and as late as 1889. These views would help to explain the rejection of St. Domingo under the Grant Administration, and are especially interesting to us now in the light of our recent insular acquisitions. Mr. Patterson further stated the reason the Senate did not ask promptly was because of "a desire, if possible,

¹ *Rev. of Revs.*, Vol. 17, p. 559.

² *Pierce-Diplomatic Episode*.

³ *Pierce-Diplomatic Episode*, pp. 16-17.

to save the Liberal ministry of Denmark." Mr. Harlan seems to have concurred in the views of the other two gentlemen, saying, "that as a mere commercial transaction the proposed purchase at the price named would have been a great folly." They felt it less harsh to Denmark to let the time of ratification expire than reject openly, and "no senator raised the question."

On the whole the statements of these gentlemen go to shield Sumner somewhat; but after weighing all the evidence and admitting that not all the blame lies at his door, yet it is but fair to say the preponderance of evidence is decidedly against him for not making any sincere efforts to secure ratification of the treaty. The quarrel with the administration, the view of President Grant when his term began that the Danish treaty was one of Seward's schemes with which he was determined to have nothing to do, and the feeling Sumner had that the Cabinet was not consulting the Senate freely enough in shaping its policies, all aided in bringing about death to the treaty. There is little doubt that had Senator Sumner forgotten his personal political enemies and prejudices and, with his powerful influence in the Senate and over the country, been sympathetic to the treaty, the views of both Senate and public might have been, if not completely won over, at least greatly changed. General Raasloff returned home discouraged, but still hoping the treaty might pass. The busy session of 1869 did nothing with it except on March 30, 1869, when it was laid upon the table, a gentle method of rejection. The time for ratification had been again extended to April 14, 1870, and the record shows that upon March 24, 1870, Sumner reported the treaty with recommendations that it do not pass. This was the end of the first really serious attempted purchase and America had forgotten for the time, through hatred of his successor, Lincoln's advice to acquire a harbor in the West Indies.¹ Senator H. C. Lodge, of Massachusetts, sums up the fate of the treaty with these words: "The treaty fell a victim to the storm of political hatred then raging in this country, and in the session of 1869, after an adverse report, the United States senate dropped it."²

The defeat of the treaty had a disastrous effect upon the Liberal party in Denmark. General Raasloff, who felt responsible for having committed his government, made an address before the Rigsdag, explaining his course, and resigned, quickly followed by Count Frijs, minister of foreign affairs. The good feeling existing between the little kingdom and America was considerably impaired by the act. The fact that the proposition had come from us was so persistently pushed by our government and that the treaty was then rejected after the Danish government had completely committed itself to the sale leaves a just cause for complaint. It may be said in defense of our action that the whole world knows our constitution says the advice and consent of the Senate is

¹ Dawes-Sumner, p. 262.

² Sen. Reports, No. 216, p. 5.

necessary to confirm a treaty, and that Denmark's constitution makes the consent of the Rigsdagen necessary. But if the Rigsdagen gives a vote disliked by the Danish Cabinet the House may be dissolved and an appeal taken to the people. If the Cabinet wins, the measure becomes a law; if not, the Cabinet resigns. We have no immediate chance to remedy a refusal by our Senate to ratify the work of our Cabinet and Denmark and the islands felt they had been trifled with. Comparing our treatment of Denmark with some similar treatment accorded us, the question of the purchase of Florida may be mentioned. After the treaty had been carefully drawn up by a minister of Spain and the United States thought everything settled, the Spanish King refused to ratify the treaty. This was taken to heart by Americans who felt much hurt, but through the mediation of the Czar of Russia the matter was peaceably adjusted. A case more to the point was the agreement of the French government, in 1831, to pay indemnity due American citizens for injuries incurred during the reign of Napoleon. The President and Senate confirmed the treaty, as did also King Louis Philippe, but the French Chambers refused the money for payment and stopped proceedings. A wave of anger spread over America, and in his message to Congress in 1834, President Jackson was very warlike in his recommendations. England tendered her good offices and the French paid the debt. The conclusion seems but natural that had we been in Denmark's position in regard to the West India islands, we should have felt much as we did in regard to France.

Yet one more point should be considered in this controversy. Was the Senate right, and did that body perform a good service to the country by setting a precedent here against executive dictation? That the Senate was wholly within its rights when it rejected the treaty, and that that body must always be considered in connection with the treaty making power is obvious. The natural jealousy that exists among the three departments of our government would of its own accord permit the Senate to guard itself an independent judgment free from executive coercion. It has used its power to reject treaties, as in the case of St. Domingo, but in no case parallel with the Danish West India measure. It may be urged that the Danish West India treaty was secretly conducted by Mr. Seward without the consent of the Senate,—that this was wrong and the assumption of one-man power. Mr. James Parton, who, though not impartial in his admirable little pamphlet upon the Danish islands, has yet given us much that is authoritative, admits it was a mistake on the part of Seward to negotiate this treaty without consulting the Senate. Secretary Seward did undoubtedly go too far in the matter of persuading the Danes that all would be well, especially after the warning that Sumner gave in the Alaskan treaty against independent executive action. For the Senate merely to consent to treaties as a matter of form would be dangerous, would rob the constitution of much vital force, would make it the tool of the executive, and the shield of some designing official in the Cabinet. Yet, on

the whole, it is doubtful, when we have a strong executive who carries Congress with him, whether the Senate is ever much consulted before acting upon a matter of diplomacy. It is safe to say that very few members are ever consulted; the rest is left to party loyalty and to political pressure which may be brought about. Admitting that some good may have ensued to the government theoretically, apart wholly from the value of the islands in question, it is yet hard to reconcile Sumner's reasons for not having rejected previously the Alaskan treaty: Since the overtures came from us, a bargain once made must be kept;¹ to dishonor the treaty would be a grave responsibility; its rejection would be bad faith and "there would be jeers at us, and jeers at Russia also for levity in yielding to them." It is difficult to harmonize these words with Sumner's actions and those of the Senate in regard to the treaty with Denmark. The fact remains plainly evident that the Senate had had many other chances to show its independence and had done so frequently; it was not now necessary to violate the plighted faith of a friendly nation. When all facts are carefully weighed and the political conditions of the times are considered, the guarding of the Senate's prerogative as a primary motive in the rejection of the treaty can not be accepted as a valid reason for the violation of a serious compact made by our government at its own initiative.

After the close of the incidents relating to the first attempts of the United States to purchase the Danish territory, the matter was dropped and not again referred to until November, 1892. Our minister to Denmark, Mr. Clark E. Carr, called one day upon Mr. Estrup, the Danish prime minister, concerning some exhibits for the Columbian Exposition at Chicago and reference was made by the Prime Minister to the rejected treaty relating to the Danish islands.¹ Mr. Estrup intimated that his government would be willing to cede the islands at the price named in the former treaty. The matter was referred to Baron Rudtz-Thott, minister of foreign affairs, who, after reporting it to the king, informed our minister that the proposition to sell would be favorably considered by his government. Mr. Carr informed our government, telling something of the value of the islands, especially dwelling upon the excellence of St. Thomas harbor and its value to the United States and strongly favored the purchase. To this initiative move on the part of Denmark, the American Secretary of State, Mr. John W. Foster, replied in December of the same year in a sympathetic tone, but, it being the close of President Harrison's administration, the time was not considered opportune to bring forward such a subject. Denmark, understanding the situation, dropped the matter with a hint that if the future should bring a canal across the isthmus, when a port in the West Indies would be necessary.

¹ Parton-Dan. Is., p. 22.

¹ Sen. Doc. No. 284, pp. 6-11.

they would be willing to re-open the subject. From the end of this correspondence until the question was again taken up by the two governments, three years elapsed. At the beginning of the year 1896 the press in the United States took up the subject, stating that Denmark had an agent in the United States who was trying to sell us their islands, and if we were not inclined to purchase them, Germany would. These rumors fell under the notice of our minister to Denmark, Mr. John E. Risley, who soon found out from the Danish government that the report was without foundation. Mr. Risley was informed by the Danish foreign office that there were no attempts at sale to us or to Germany, but it was hinted that a proposition to re-open the subject would probably be received with favor. On January 3, 1896, Senator Lodge, of Massachusetts, had introduced a resolution directing the committee of foreign affairs to inquire and report to the Senate whether or not the Danish West Indies could be bought then, or if not bought by us whether it was probable that some other power would purchase them. Upon this the Senate made no recommendation, nor is it clear what Secretary Olney's views upon the subject were. Nothing came of this movement and there is another lapse of time until January, 1897. From this time until about April 1, 1898, there was a quiet, semi-official negotiation carried on between Denmark and our government relative to the purchase of the islands.¹ The accredited representative of the Danish government in this country was Mr. Niels Gron, by birth a Dane, but an American citizen by adoption. Mr. Gron was the representative of the very conservative sale committee in Denmark. After a long, tedious procedure the affair was almost settled and upon April 1, 1898, Senator Lodge again introduced a bill to the Senate relating to the Danish West Indies, this time calling for an appropriation of five millions of dollars to purchase all the islands. What might have been the outcome of negotiations this time had our country not engaged in war can only be conjectured. The war with Spain came on, the United States had many other problems on hand, and it was only a matter of courtesy to Spain on the part of Denmark to stop proceedings in attempts to sell her islands. It took a few years to settle our questions arising out of the war, especially to pacify the Filipinos and to determine the status of Porto Rico, and the purchasing of a West India harbor was again deferred. Our government began making overtures to Denmark during 1900 and finally, late in 1901, negotiations between Secretary Hay and Constantine Brun, the Danish Minister at Washington, were practically concluded in another attempt at purchase.² The treaty concluding the efforts of these gentlemen was largely brought about by a Danish adventurer and a rather self-appointed agent of the party in Denmark anxious to sell, named Captain Christmas, and it was

¹ N. A. Rev. of Rev., Vol. 175, pp. 500-502.

² Harper's Enc. of U. S., Vol. 3, p. 10.

finally signed by them January 24, 1902. When it became generally known in the United States that the government was considering the purchase of the islands, the matter was taken up and discussed by the press before and after the making of the treaty.¹ Conservative opinion generally favored the purchase because of the value of the islands as harbors and coaling stations, of which we were again plainly shown the need during the Spanish-American War, but there was also some strong sentiment against the annexation.² Representative papers like the *Philadelphia Ledger* and *Brooklyn Citizen* were opposed to the purchase, and the *Chicago Times-Herald* said early in January, 1901, that "our government should inform the king of Denmark we do not want his three little islands as a gift."

On January 27, 1902, President Roosevelt sent a copy of the signed treaty to the Senate. It will be noticed that this treaty, different from the former one, was drawn up in Washington and first placed before our Senate.³ It conferred all the sovereignty Denmark held in the West Indies to us without holding our government responsible for any of the debts of the islands. The United States agreed to assume Denmark's obligations toward the St. Thomas Floating Dock Company and the West India and Panama Telegraph Company. The Floating Dock Company has a charter existing until 1918 and is equipped for all sorts of work needed by a small merchant marine or small navy in a harbor. Our government agreed to carry out Denmark's promises to the West India and Panama Telegraph Company, which had a charter until January 1, 1905, granting it \$3,000 a year from the treasury of St. Thomas and St. John, and \$1,000 from that of St. Croix. The treaty further absolved the United States from responsibility for the debts of the defunct St. Croix Fallessurkerkogerier (sugar) Company which the Danish treasury mortgaged and had to take. Everything in the nature of property except arms, military stores, and colors was to be ours, but churches and parsonages held by the Danish national church should be held by the congregations owning them. Property taken by the Danish treasury and sums due it were not relinquished by the treaty, but Denmark was to settle up all such business in two years after the ratification of the treaty.

The inhabitants of the islands were granted full property, religious, and civil rights, and choice of remaining or leaving at their pleasure, with two years' time in which to decide whether they would become American, or remain Danish subjects. After the expiration of two years, if no declaration had been made to the contrary, they were to be considered American citizens. The treaty further stated that "the civil rights and the political status of the inhabitants of the islands shall be determined by the Congress, subject to the stipulations contained in the present convention." It was provided that the United States was to have formal possession of the islands as soon as the money was paid, and the Danish

¹ Public Opinion, April 7, 1898.

² Public Opinion, Vol. 30, January 10, 1901.

³ Sen. Doc. No. 284, pp. 1-6.

garrison was to withdraw inside of six months. There are about two thousand dollars annually paid out of the colonial treasury for retired "functionaries," which provision was granted continuance by this treaty. Any differences of interpretations in regard to the treaty, if not agreed upon by diplomacy, were to be submitted to the court of arbitration at The Hague. The sum agreed upon for all three islands this time was five millions of dollars in gold, and the time limit for ratifications was set for July 24, 1903.

The treaty came before the Senate at once and this time there was found little opposition in that body. The Danish agent, Mr. Gron, did not favor this treaty, but had a substitute to offer, viz.: Denmark was to cede either St. Thomas or St. John to us without cost, and guarantee to us that she would never sell the other isles to any other power but the United States; in turn the United States should grant tariff concessions to St. Croix and go into a sort of an ill-defined alliance with Denmark against Russia in the latter's encroachments upon America's Baltic trade. This was the treaty, Mr. Gron insisted, was wanted by the leading business men and politicians of Denmark. All this, however, was impracticable for our government and was the plan of the Danish party really not very favorable to sale. The treaty which Captain Christmas had been instrumental in helping to formulate, drawn up as noted above, was ratified by the Senate February 14, 1903.¹ As there were two parties in Denmark—one favoring and one opposing the treaty—naturally there was both pleasure and disappointment. No vote was taken in the islands in regard to the question, but our government was given to understand there was little opposition there this time. When the United States, just a short time before this, got into the controversy with Porto Rico concerning free trade, or a tariff for that island which resulted in the latter, some of the Danish West India business men became somewhat alarmed, but this uneasiness seemed to have passed away.²

Soon after the ratification of the treaty in this country came what is known as "the Christmas incident." Captain Walter Christmas Holmfeldt, who figured rather sensationally at this time, acted as an agent for the sale committee in that country. Owing largely to the heavy deficit in the colonial treasury each year, especially of St. Croix, for which the home treasury is responsible, there was a large party which was really anxious to get rid of the island possessions at almost any fair price. It was due to Captain Christmas's influence that our government sent Mr. Henry White, then secretary of the United States Embassy in Great Britain, to Denmark relative to another attempt at purchase of the islands. Christmas acted as interpreter for Mr. White to the Danish Prime Minister's representative, visited America, and in many ways assisted our government in the preliminaries which finally led to the conclusion of the treaty providing for

¹ N. A. Rev., Vol. 175, pp. 502-03.

² Rev. of Revs., Vol. 23, p. 160.

the sale of the islands which the United States ratified. When the treaty came up for ratification, Mr. Gron, as has been shown, offered a substitute which was not acceptable. This proposed substitute convention led to the arousing of a mysterious force in Denmark, behind which were part of the Danish ministry, the sale committee, and Captain Christmas, discrediting Mr. Gron with our government in his attempts at sale. Mr. Gron, consequently, was under a cloud in the United States until, finally, the Danish Prime Minister and part of his Cabinet exonerated him of any misrepresentation and trickery.¹ Christmas had had a hand in stopping Mr. Gron's plans, and the United States government had accepted his help without knowing much, or perhaps anything, of the kind of man it was dealing with. After the treaty was sent to Denmark in the early spring of 1902 came the sensational connection of Captain Christmas with the matter. He demanded ten per cent. of the selling price of the islands (\$500,000), which he claimed had been promised him if the sale was accomplished, as payment for his services, and to pay Americans whom he had to bribe to accomplish ratification! The allegations of Christmas came out in a statement made by Mr. Gron, whose plans had been spoiled by the former.² In his claims were ugly charges against some of our prominent public officials. He asserted that Senator Lodge was the only American among high officials who could not be bribed. These charges stirred considerably both the governments of Denmark and the United States. Representative J. D. Richardson, of Tennessee, on March 27, 1902, moved an investigation of the whole charge against the American government and this was made.³ Captain Christmas was severely denounced by members of Congress and the press for trying to discredit the nation abroad, and the investigation which followed exploded every charge, exonerated our government, and branded Christmas as an adventurer and mountebank. He had aided substantially to bring about the treaty, but his last efforts were undoubtedly aimed at black-mailing the Danish government. When Christmas was denounced by both governments, the incident was closed with only the memory remaining of another added unfortunate occurrence in the attempted purchase of the Danish territory. While Congress was investigating the Christmas charges, the Danish Rigsdagen adjourned until October, 1902, without action on the treaty.

The Rigsdagen convened early in October, and by the middle of the month the treaty came up from the Folksting or lower house of parliament accepted, ready for consideration by the Landsting. The Folksting, the popular house,

¹ Mr. Gron, a distinguished writer and traveler, still favors purchase of the Danish West Indies by the United States. He insists Danish sentiment strongly favors the transfer and he vigorously opposes European trading companies getting control of their fine harbors ready to take advantage of Americans commercially when the Panama Canal opens. See interview N. Y. Times, August 26, 1912.

² Balt. Amer., July 25, 1902.

³ Cong. Rec., 1902, Vol. 35, pp. 3330-3344.

is elected by the people, and represents largely the peasant and common classes. It had little trouble in passing the bill, and its members seem to have taken a practical view of the matter—even the idea that since the United States has begun annexing colonial territory, we might seize these islands also, regardless of Denmark's pleasure, received some consideration. But the fact that there is a constant drain on the home treasury to pay the colonial deficit which helps keep up a heavier tax than would otherwise be necessary in Denmark, appealed strongest to the Folksting. They sent a commission to the islands to find out how the expense of governing the colonies might be cut down and they be made to contribute to the Danish government.¹ It has already been shown that the lowering of expense in the islands, or increase of taxes there is practically impossible, and the commission made a report telling of the poor conditions in the islands and hoped to influence votes in the Landsting favorable to the treaty, but, as will be seen, with indifferent success.

When the treaty reached the Landsting it at once became evident that it would meet decided opposition. There is evidence² to show that King Christian IX was not favorable to the sale though he had, owing to force of circumstances, reluctantly consented to the making of the treaty. Much of this opposition on the then King's part was no doubt due to the humiliation of Denmark by our rejection of a former similar treaty, seizure of much Danish territory by Prussia, and a desire to hold intact his little kingdom. The King's opposition being known no doubt strengthened the enemies of cession in the very conservative Landsting. This body consists of sixty-six members, twelve of whom are appointed for life by the crown. The rest are elected indirectly by the leading tax-payers for terms of eight years, and they represent the aristocracy. During the summer of 1902 the question of the proposed cession had been considerably agitated, and an election to the Landsting September 19th, it was hoped by the government, would bring in a majority in favor of the sale. Again the Cabinet hoped that two of the most determined opponents of the treaty, Messrs. Thygesen and Roben,³ both wealthy and aged—the first named ninety-seven, and the other eighty-seven—would not come to claim their vote, but both came. It is charged that Thygesen was in such a feeble condition that he was unconscious of the meaning of the treaty or the effect of his own vote, while Roben strengthened by stimulants, was brought in upon a litter to cast his ballot.⁴ Such a wave of patriotism had spread over the country that 3,500,000 kroners had been subscribed by opponents of the treaty for the relief of the colonial treasuries if the government should reject the cession. It is charged that the King's family, much to the chagrin of the Cabinet, induced some of the nobility to cast their influence and votes against the treaty. Especially the Princess Marie d'Orleans, the ambi-

¹ W. E. Curtis, *Chicago Record-Herald*, Apr. 29, 1903.

² *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, October 9, 1902.

³ *Rasmussen Weekly*, October 30, 1902.

⁴ Curtis, *Record-Herald*, April 29, 1903.

tious and very popular wife of Prince Waldemar, the sixth son of Christian, showed disfavor to the sale of islands, actively lobbied against the treaty, and is accused of having caused one of the newly elected senators to vote against the instrument of sale in spite of the fact that a majority of his constituents favored the transfer. The bill came up for a second reading on October 22nd. *Rasmussen Weekly* says, "Up to the time when the last vote was cast no one knew the result." When the bill came up for a third reading it was rejected by a tie vote of thirty-two. The party called the old Right, and two independent members of the Right voted against the bill; the Left, and six independent members of the Right favored the measure, and one member was absent. The galleries were crowded while the vote was taken, and while there was cheering upon the floor when the result was announced, there were loud shouts of criticism and disapprobation from the galleries.¹ This was much of a surprise since generally the meetings of the Landsting are very quiet and dignified.

A few reasons additional to those hinted at in connection with the King's attitude toward the cession may be given why the treaty was rejected. While the fate of the former treaty in our Senate was remembered, beyond a doubt the main reason for the rejection was one of sentiment. Gertrude Atherton said two-thirds of the opposition to the treaty was sentimental. The thought of losing more of the colonial possessions of the proud little Denmark, once so powerful, quite went against the wishes of the aristocratic Landsting. Mr. Jacob Riis said in a letter:² "As far as I have learned, the whole Danish objection was based on sentiment—reluctance to curtail further the lands of the little kingdom despoiled by Prussia a generation ago—a desire to hold fast to the remnant of the old tradition of Denmark's colonial empire and its power upon the seas. That seems to confuse the whole position there with a somewhat vaguely defined purpose to rehabilitate the islands to boom trade there.—The sentimental objection is to be respected." *Rasmussen Weekly*, one of the leading Danish-American papers, said: "The majority of the Danish population is no doubt in favor of the sale. From St. Thomas it is stated that the population is very much disappointed on account of the vote against the sale. In Copenhagen tongues are wagging and every one is trying to find out what the reason was that the treaty was not carried through."³ The fact that Princess Marie of Orleans interested herself so much against the treaty had aroused the suspicion that French influence, heretofore knowingly hostile, may have some little foundation since St. Croix, originally owned by France, has a small French population; and Denmark has all along had a great deal of respect and some apprehension for the opinions of France in regard to the sale of the islands to us. It is a well known fact that Germany is very anxious for a harbor in the West Indies, and it has been

¹ *Cur. History*, December, 1902, p. 764.

² *Personal Correspondence*, February 9, 1903.

³ *Rasmussen Weekly*, October 30, 1902.

openly charged that she has approached Denmark on the subject of St. Thomas, even offering some concessions in Europe.¹ It is charged that German influence may have helped defeat our treaty, but this may have been somewhat similar to the charges formerly made in our country that England tried to acquire Texas, and used for the same effect. It has been asserted with some claims of truth that Prince Waldemar, who is president of the West India Steamship Company, to run between the islands and Copenhagen, and now also president of the new East Asia West India Improvement Company, which has a ninety-nine-year lease on St. Thomas harbor, has as stockholders in his companies German capitalists.² This may be true; his company may have opposed the sale, and still the German government may have had no hand in opposition to our attempts at purchase. The United States needs St. Thomas harbor badly, but imaginary fear of Germany need not enter into the acquisition.

Since the rejection by Denmark of our treaty, we have the interesting question whether or not American policy and the Monroe doctrine would allow the sale of the islands to any other foreign nation. Were the territory American, it would be easily answered and would clearly be a violation of our policy to allow a foreign nation to acquire them. Since it would become a question of transfer from one European nation to another European nation, the case is somewhat different. Considerable discussion has taken place over this phase of the subject and opinion has varied. Mr. Joseph Bishop, in the *International Monthly*,³ views the Monroe doctrine as allowing the sale to a foreign nation, and comments on the fact that should France or Germany own the islands they would be very dangerous to us in time of war. Mr. Julius Moritzen,⁴ in *Gunton's Magazine* for December, 1899, thinks it would be a violation of the Monroe doctrine for Denmark to sell to anyone but us, yet intimates that after failure of sale to us, owing to the increasing burden of expense in maintaining islands, Denmark might be justified in selling to others. This view would be valid only should we refuse hereafter to again consider purchase. Speaking editorially, the *Independent* says,⁵ "We could not properly complain if Denmark should sell the islands to Germany if we do not buy them." Editorially the *Outlook* says:⁶ "Opinions of many international jurists think the Monroe Doctrine would not hinder transfer from one power to another." *Current History*⁷ takes the stand that "their sale to any other power was, and now is impossible except by repudiation of the Monroe Doctrine." There is no doubt whatever that with Germany's activities in South American settlement, the only thing that causes her to be timid about trying to purchase at almost any price these islands so as to acquire a harbor in the

¹ Pub. Opinion, Vol. 27, December 14, 1899.

² Rasmussen Weekly, October 30, 1902.

³ International Monthly, Vol. V, p. 376.

⁴ Pub. Opinion, Vol. 27, December 14, 1899.

⁵ Independent, January 11, 1900.

⁶ Outlook, Vol. 70, p. 400.

⁷ Current History, December, 1902, p. 765.

western hemisphere, is the Monroe Doctrine. The Monroe Doctrine is not yet international law and whether we would permit the sale to another nation if we cannot have the islands, would perhaps depend largely upon how that instrument might be interpreted by the administration in power at the time. Should it be interpreted as it was in Cleveland's time, has been more recently, and is now viewed, our policy would be decidedly opposed to foreign transfer. Senator H. C. Lodge had no hesitancy in stating that Denmark's transfer to an European power "would be an infraction of the Monroe Doctrine."¹ Speaking with the committee on foreign relations behind him, he no doubt spoke the views of the government, and it would seem that at present American sentiment is overwhelming on his side. This view is fully confirmed by the recent attitude of the Senate in its warning given for all nations relative to the Magdalena Bay affair. This may appear a very selfish policy and seem very unfair, but the law of self-protection having always been our first motto, our policy is perhaps more justifiable in the case than almost any other conceivable at present, owing to the new Panama Canal. The conclusion of the matter seems to be that if Denmark wishes to sell her territory she must consult our wishes.

Although the negotiations so far have been unsuccessful this fact does not argue that the question may not come up again. There has been a rejection of a treaty by each nation, and Mr. Hay notified the Danish government that America would probably never again take up the subject should Denmark reject the last treaty. But conditions change and men with them. An unnatural state of affairs in both countries defeated the two main attempts at purchase, but the last treaty came so near winning that it will undoubtedly not be long until another attempt at transfer will be made. The natural status of things will, it would seem, inevitably drive the islands to us. Denmark is a small and not wealthy country; for several years past her expenditures have exceeded her income; her debt in 1911 was £18,658,889, a large sum for so small a country; the exports of the Danish West Indies direct to Denmark are very small annually, and the imports from there are considerably less. Of the sugar crop, the greatest staple of export, in 1911 Denmark got less than two per cent. She can not much longer stand the drain from her treasury in sustaining these possessions in their annual deficits. The economic condition of their lands is such that only a complete reorganization and an injection of Yankee thrift will save them. From any standpoint but that of making use of their excellent harbors, the islands do not appeal to Americans, but this alone is quite sufficient and is now very important to us. True to our tradition, we will never use force against Denmark solely to acquire her American territory, but we shall probably never consent for its sale to another power. We have almost completed the enterprise of digging the Panama Canal; it will soon be opened to the trade of the world, and

¹ Sen. Doc. No. 284, p. 19.

when we consider the importance of the isles as harbors and strategically as naval stations in reference to this enterprise, the only conclusion is that we have more need than ever to own them. There is little doubt that the harbor of St. Thomas will become the most frequented in the West Indies after the canal is completed. The most direct way ships from the English Channel can possibly get to Panama is to pass between St. Thomas and St. Croix. It will be made a coaling-station for ships bound from and to Europe, and the American flag should float there. That Denmark will eventually, and probably, before long, be willing to sell her American possessions is a foregone conclusion, and that the United States should own and beyond a doubt will acquire the islands, seems almost as certain. A private syndicate of Danish capitalists, known as the East Asia Company, has obtained a long time lease from Denmark of St. Thomas harbor. It is at work now making permanent improvements, dredging, installing new and more elaborate docks, pulling up warehouses, wireless stations, coal yards and ice houses. About \$8,000,000 will be spent and it is planned to have one of the finest coaling stations in the world ready for the increased trade certain to come when the Panama Canal opens. This is wisdom in Denmark, but shrewd American foresight should no longer neglect getting honorable control of so important a national safeguard.¹

¹ Consular Trade Reports, February 23, 1912, pp. 190-91.



THE DANISH WEST INDIES AND AMERICAN OWNERSHIP

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PERSONAL CORRESPONDENCE

Letter from Mr. Jacob Riis.

The Citizen King in Kentucky

BY

CAROLINE W. BERRY

Of Hamilton College, Lexington, Kentucky



URING the seething and fermenting political hatreds and amid the violence of revolution, Louis Philippe was born in Paris, in the year 1773. His father was the infamous Duke of Orleans, Louis Philippe Joseph; but better known by the surname Egalité, adopted by him because of his republican sentiments. His mother was Louise Marie de Bourbon, the richest heiress of the time.

Louis Egalité voted in the Assembly for the death of Louis XVI, thus gaining for himself and his unfortunate family, the undying hatred of the Royalists.

Louis Philippe fought valiantly under the leadership of Dumouriez, Minister of Foreign Affairs, in the Battles of Valmy and Jemmapes. Father and son alike fell under suspicion. Louis Philippe escaped arrest, and with Dumouriez fled into Switzerland; while his father and two younger brothers were arrested and cast into prison at St. Jean.

In 1793, Louis Egalité was taken from prison with Madame Roland, both of whom were put to death in the same place, where Marie Antoinette had lost her head one month before. Upon the death of his father, Louis Philippe declared himself Duke of Orleans. This increased the distrust and suspicion, since he had previously renounced all titles, and with his father had accepted the name Egalité.

Under the assumed name of Chabaud-Latour, he was appointed teacher of Mathematics, Geography, History, and French in a school at Reichenan, which position he held for eight months. He made friends here as he did everywhere, except among the Royalists of his own country. In attestation of their friendship, his students, upon his sudden resignation, presented him with a snuff-box.

We next hear of him under the name of Mr. Corby. He wandered about through northern Europe and in England for years, like a hunted animal, never safe, always fearing danger, earning a meagre living as best he could.

About this time, the French Government of the Directory wrote the Duchess of Orleans, offering to restore her confiscated lands and to grant freedom to the imprisoned princes, if she could find Louis Philippe and prevail upon him to make his permanent home in the United States, offering the additional inducement of allowing the younger brothers to join Louis in America. The young Duke was located after some months, and was glad to seek this asylum of peace.

Having only about four hundred dollars in his possession, he communicated with Gouverneur Morris, United States Minister in France during the Reign of Terror, who advanced fifteen hundred pounds to the credit of the Duke and his brothers. Every cent of this his accounts show, was re-paid with interest.

A carefully kept account-book, several volumes of a diary, and the snuff-box, already referred to, were cherished souvenirs of his twenty-one years of exile, which Louis Philippe, when King of France, exhibited with pride to visitors at Versailles.

He sailed in 1796 for America, landing in Philadelphia, where he was joined in February of the following year by his brothers, who had been liberated from prison. Here he was known as "Mr. Orleans," having sailed under the name of "L. P. d' Orleans." The young princes traveled in America for three years, generally unknown, often moneyless, and always suffering the pangs of homesickness.

Beaujolais and Montpensier, the brothers of Louis Philippe, were in delicate health from the damp dungeons in which they had been imprisoned for four years, and were ill prepared to endure the hardships which they encountered as wanderers in a new country.

They were so pleased with Washington's farewell address, published about the time of their arrival, that they sought the retiring President and presented letters, establishing their identity. Washington was most cordial in his greetings, and invited the Princes to make him a visit at Mount Vernon. This invitation was accepted with alacrity. What a haven of peace this hospitable home must have been to these unfortunate exiles! No wonder Louis should have written in his diary of the bright sunshine, of the beautiful landscape, of the good cheer, and of the untiring kindness of their host.

The young Duke fortunately was able to beguile many weary hours of his exile in the study of subjects which interested him. In Switzerland, he gave much time to Geology; and here at Mount Vernon the negro slaves were of great interest to him. Later, when he penetrated farther into the interior, he availed himself of the opportunity of making friends with the Indians, and of learning what he could of their customs, mode of life, and of their attitude toward the white man.

When the time came for their reluctant leave-taking, Washington advised the brothers concerning their best route. He took the Duke's pocket-map, and drew in red ink a line, beginning at Mount Vernon, thence to Harper's Ferry, through Eastern Tennessee, across the Cumberland Mountains to Nashville, into Kentucky to Louisville, Lexington, and Maysville, through Ohio and Indiana, and by way of Lake Erie and Niagara Falls, back to Philadelphia.

"Mr. Orleans" was now about twenty-four years old, and his two brothers were younger.

This long, hard journey was made on horseback, through the wild, unsettled stretches of the new country. They were exposed to all extremes of weather,

often sleeping out-of-doors, or in barns, or begging such hospitality as the frontier offered, or accepting the meagre entertainment of the wayside taverns. One entry in the diary is an exultation over an inn that furnished two beds to the three weary French travelers.

Seldom was their identity made known by presenting the letters, which they carried always.

The two younger boys, broken in health from their long imprisonment, were often taxed beyond their physical endurance by these long journeys, and for want of sufficient food. A sad, hard fate for young Princes who might have boasted of a dozen ancestors of royal blood? The Duchess of Orleans, from her hidden exile, must have prayed the prayer of the Plantagenet mother: "Pity those tender babes, whom envy hath immured within your walls."

At Elmira, New York, they met Thomas Morris, who had been in school with the Duke of Orleans in Paris. Some delightful and restful days were spent here where host and guests had many pleasant reminiscences of happier days. Another stop of some days was at a French settlement in Pennsylvania.

In February of 1798, the weary travelers made their way south to New Orleans, probably because Montpensier was growing weaker and less able to stand the rigorous climate of the North. From New Orleans, they took passage on an American brig, bound for Cuba. During the voyage, an effort was made to impress them into the English service. Again the letters of identification were brought into requisition. They reached Havana in safety, where they were allowed to remain only two months, because their identity became known, and the Spanish Government wished to avoid any complication with France. Accordingly, they were ordered to leave the Spanish territory.

Bishop Flaget's "Reminiscences" record the circumstances of his meeting these ill-fated exiles, moneyless, but not friendless, in Havana, during the winter of 1800. These young men were devout Catholics. The Catholic Church of Havana contributed a generous sum of money to take the brothers to more congenial shelter, and Father Flaget was chosen to present the gift to Louis, the eldest. The priest admired the gentle young man, and the friendship begun thus lasted many years, and proved a boon to Louis Philippe in subsequent troubles.

During the year, the three brothers were safely domiciled in England. Bishop Flaget relates that the princes were about to return to the United States, when he met them. The diary of Louis Philippe ends this same year, 1800, with the visit to Bardstown, Kentucky.

It is a well-established fact that Louis Philippe was again in Bardstown, some twenty years later. The inference is that the brothers made a second short trip into the United States, staying in Bardstown only a few days; and that Louis returned to America during the reign of Charles X, when the relations of France and Spain were strained. Louis had, in the meantime, married Maria Amelia, daughter of Ferdinand I of the Two Sicilies. Louis was again in exile, and, natur-

ally, he reverted to the friendship of Flaget who had become Bishop of the See of Bardstown, the first Bishopric west of the Alleghanies, and one of the largest in the United States. Only the Dioceses of Baltimore, New Orleans, and Philadelphia contained more communicants of the Catholic Faith. Perhaps all these influences directed the wanderer again to America, and this time to Kentucky, where he spent more than a year, living quietly with the priests, and going but little among the laymen.

In 1824, La Fayette was accorded cordial welcome in northern Kentucky. Barbecues and burgoo for thousands were made at Georgetown and Lexington to do honor to this distinguished guest; but Louis Philippe, so soon to become the Citizen King of France, was a quiet, unobtrusive, and almost unknown, guest of the Catholic priests at Bardstown.

The tradition in regard to the exact time and length of this visit vary, but Father C. J. O'Connell, Pastor of Saint Joseph's Church at Bardstown, writes in *The Kentucky Standard* of July, 1910, that William F. McGill had recorded this statement: "I saw Louis Philippe in Bardstown in 1821, where he taught French for a living."

It is certainly true that Kentuckians, then, as now, knew little of his presence in the State. The histories of Kentucky are almost every one silent upon the subject. Available facts concerning his refuge with the priests of Bardstown are fragmentary.

During the reign of Louis Philippe as King of the Constitutional Monarchy of France, he delighted to welcome American travelers at Versailles, and to relate to them his experiences as an exile in this country, and to make friendly enquiries concerning places and people whom he had known. Upon one such occasion, he said: "Is good whisky to be had now between Nashville and Louisville, or must a body carry it in a canteen strapped to his neck?"

Unmistakable proofs exist of his great appreciation of the protecting care and courtesy of the priests of the Catholic Church in his hour of need.

Only two years ago, the Bishop of Baltimore spent some months in Kentucky, hunting for records of this period. He found but little in the way of written history, but much of interest is still alive in the minds of the intelligent, educated priesthood of the diocese. The year of the return to Europe of Louis Philippe is less than a century behind us, and many of the citizens of this quaint old town, rich in historic interest, have heard the story of his exile directly from their parents, who knew the sad, but gentle, man as he went about his daily life as teacher in the little frontier town. Here he taught dancing and French, we are told by the priests; and the citizens point with pride to the former site of the log school house in which he taught.

Father Badin, the Father of Kentucky Missions, has written of a bell sent from Lyons, in February, 1821, to Bishop Flaget, as a gift from Louis Philippe to the Church of Saint Joseph at Bardstown.

In this church may be seen to-day some master-paintings which were presented by King Louis Philippe during the life of Bishop Flaget. Among these are The Crucifixion, said to have been painted by Van Dyke, which hangs over the High Altar. On each side of this are two others, representing Biblical subjects, done by Reubens; and on the side walls hang two panels by Van Eyck. There are The Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew and The Annunciation and several others, bearing the inscriptions, "Presented by Ferdinand III" and "Given by the last King of Sicily." These last named pictures are of unmistakable merit and age, but the artists are unknown.

Between these sovereigns and Louis Philippe the bond of political sympathy was probably stronger than the bond of blood, although both existed. All were Princes of the House of Bourbon, and all were fugitives from home during the oppression of the Catholics.

Louis Philippe's connection with the location of the Abbey of Gethsemane, near Bardstown, is also of interest. That a Trappist monastery, with its adjacent lands, should to-day stand, like a feudal estate of mediaeval Europe, in the Blue-grass fields of Kentucky, is doubtless indirectly due to the influence of the illustrious stranger who sought an asylum of peace amid these same rural scenes.

In 1848, the Abbot of La Meilleraye made arrangements with the French Government to found a monastery for exiled Religions on the Island of Martinique, upon an estate given by Louis Philippe for that purpose. Again, the lines of fate were tightening upon His Majesty, and he was unable to carry this project to completion; and, instead of going to Martinique, the weary exiles came to Bardstown for a place of safety, even as the Prince of the House of Bourbon himself had done.

Louis Philippe returned to Europe in 182-(?) and in 1830 was declared King of the Constitutional Monarchy of the French, not by the divine right of kings, but by sovereign will. La Fayette, presenting the Citizen King to the people, cried: "Behold the best of republicans!"

For eighteen years, he ruled with much vacillation and little firmness. By nature he was not stern enough to battle with the disorganized powers of France. He was a lover of art and a patron of education. During the eighteen years of his unhappy reign, he made the Palace of Versailles a museum of history and art, and built the Hotel de Ville and the School of Fine Arts in Paris.

He was forced to abdicate in 1848, when again he became an exile, this time taking refuge in England under the name of William Smith. Here he died in 1850. His weary exile was ended.

The following sources were consulted in preparing "The Citizen King in Kentucky:" Bishop Flaget's "Reminiscences;" Spaulding's "Life of Flaget;" Webb's "Century of Catholicity in Kentucky;" *The Century Magazine* of 1901; Guizot's "History of France;" Father O'Connell and Father Stevens of Bardstown, Kentucky.



MITCHELL



JONES POND

"This was a small pond that I have not seen for forty-five years, which was said to have been on the Tristram Burgess estate, a short distance east of Fort Hill. It was a skating place for the young people. This sketch was made by my uncle in 1832. It was made in pencil."—Stephen Farnum Peckham.



FOX POINT FROM
Drawn in India 1871



1832. Sept

THE HARBOR
September, 1832



RED BRIDGE, LOOKING EAST FROM BELOW THE BRIDGE, ON THE WEST SIDE
On the opposite side of the river below the bridge, where the small house is seen, is the
site where the great distributing depot of the Standard Oil Company has been built.
This sketch was drawn in pencil, March 23, 1832.

The Providence Pictures

Descriptive Notes on the Water-Colors, Written by the Artist, Edward Lewis Peckham, and by His Nephew, Stephen Far-
num Peckham, Through Whom These Views of Providence
Before 1850 Have Been Secured for Permanent Pictorial
Record in The Journal of American History

Color Reproductions in The Journal of American History, Volume VII, Number 1

I

SOUTH PART OF BENEFIT STREET



HIS is a view from the southwest chamber window of Thomas Peckham's house, in 1834. In the foreground, on the left, is Jerry Tillinghast's house, and, opposite it, the "Davis House," both on the northerly corners of Transit Street. In the latter a children's school was kept by a Mrs. Sinkins, where the writer went for the first time in 1818. The building was torn down and St. Stephen's Church erected in its place.

On the right is one of the poplar trees in front of the old Third Ward brick schoolhouse. Next to it is the Ira Winsor house on Wickenden Street, and the old-fashioned brown house, nearly opposite, belonged to the Godfrey estate. Directly over the latter is seen one of the New York steam boats. Here the passengers were landed, and those bound for Boston were conveyed thither in stages. On the 4th of May, 1834, the renowned David Crockett arrived here in the steam boat *Boston*, and I had the pleasure, with many others, of shaking hands with him.

Following the wharves south is Pike's lumber yard, and Fox Point Wharf at the foot of South Main Street. The hillock on the left is a portion of Fox Point Hill, cut off by the extension of Benefit Street. Over the latter, in the distance, is Kettle Point Rock, and, opposite it, Field's Point.

Following the land to the right, the white building, with a flag flying, is the "Pavilion," a noted place in its day for billiards, ten pins, whiskey punches, and choice suppers. It was situated near the east end of what is now Thurber's Avenue,—then unknown.

Following the land still further to the right, are Hawkins' Cove and the old

Hospital or Pest-House. It stood where the Rhode Island Bleach Works now are. A portion of the Pawtuxet road can be seen, and a little north of the Pest-House, with a high tide and strong southeast wind, the water used to break over and flow as far as Hospital Street.—*Edward Lewis Peckham*.

About 1857, my Uncle commenced a much larger picture, on which he worked at intervals for several years. Between the dates of the two sketches, a third storey had been added to his father's house, and it was from the third storey window, directly over the second storey from which the view here reproduced was taken, that he made the second sketch. It was too large to attempt to reproduce in this series. It is now framed and in the collection of the Rhode Island Historical Society.—*Stephen Farnum Peckham*.

II

INDIA POINT AND THE MOUTH OF THE BLACKSTONE RIVER

This is a bird's-eye view of the south shore of Providence, as it appeared in 1832 from the high land opposite India Point. Fox Point is seen on the extreme left, India Point in the centre, and the mouth of the Blackstone River on the right.

The sketch was made before any railroads had entered Providence.—*Edward Lewis Peckham*.



PROVIDENCE AS SEEN FROM THE HIGH LAND ON THE EAST SIDE, FOUR MILES DOWN THE BAY
On the right, the city is seen, over Kettle Point. On the left, is the entrance to the Harbor, with Field's Point to the extreme left.





SLATE ROCK FROM THE BLUFF
From a sketch made in sepia, in November, 1845



HEAVY SNOW



SQUANTUM

"This is a scene without a title, drawn in sepia, December 3, 1846. It has been destroyed by the Providence, Warren, and Bristol Railroad. I have named it 'Squantum,' as it is about where the Squantum Club has its Club House, on one of the Pomham Rocks."—Edward Lewis Peckham.

The Transylvania Botanic Garden

A Little-Known American Enterprise of Great Historic, Scientific, and Educational Interest & A Study of "The Athens of the West"—Lexington, Kentucky & Home of the First Printing Press, Newspaper, Public Library, and University, West of the Alleghanias & A Pioneer Naturalist of a Century Ago and the Botanic Garden He Sought to Found

BY

IDA WITHERS HARRISON



HE Public Library in Lexington, Kentucky, was established in 1796, and during its more than one hundred years of existence it has accumulated many books and papers of great value and interest. While going through some of these old papers, I came across some manuscripts, nearly ninety years old, which suggested the writing of this article.

Lexington in the early part of the Nineteenth Century seems to have taken the lead in everything that happened west of the Alleghanias. Here, John Bradford set up the first printing press, and started the first newspaper west of the mountains. Western Literature had its birth here, for John Filson wrote his "History of Kentucky" while a school-master in Lexington, and also wrote down from Daniel Boone's dictation the only narrative of his life with the old pioneer's sanction.

The first library, the first lunatic asylum, the first college in the West were in this old town; and that college grew into the first university beyond the mountains, and, in spite of its struggles with the rabid sectarian spirit, which was one of the sad features of some of the religion of those times, was itself a pioneer in the introduction of many new things—some of which I shall mention later on.

It is a little hard for us to realize that Lexington was the leading manufacturing town in the West in the early part of the Nineteenth Century, but such was the case. Mr. Ranck says, in his "History of Lexington," that there were ninety-seven manufactories here then, and that people came from far and near to buy.

Old Lexington was at the zenith of her commercial prosperity in 1810, but Robert Fulton's invention, which was patented in 1809, struck a death blow to her as a distributing centre. From the time the steam boat appeared on the Ohio River the doom of inland towns was sealed, and the star of river towns, like Cincinnati and Louisville, rose.

But another star than that of Commerce was to rise here—that of Education—and to make Lexington proudly and justly wear the title of *The Athens of the West*. This golden educational era began about 1818, and it is of this period that my sketch deals.

At this time, Lexington could claim for her citizens men whom the nation delighted to honor. The tall and stately figure of Henry Clay was a familiar one on her streets. He was then about forty years old, and honor after honor had already been showered on him—but they were only foretastes of more brilliant honors yet to come. His great rival, that splendid lawyer, orator and statesman, William Taylor Barry, also lived in Lexington. His monument stood in a corner of the Court House yard, until the old Court House was burnt down.

Another lawyer, Matthew Jouett, made his home here, but the voice of Art, calling, "Arise and follow me," sounded so imperiously and irresistibly in his ears, that he closed his law office forever, in 1817, and went to Boston to study under Gilbert Stuart, the great portrait painter. But he returned in a few years, and the Lexington of that day saw portraits painted, that artists of to-day compare to those of Velasquez.

Robert Wickliffe, John J. Crittenden, the two Breckinridges, Dr. Benjamin Dudley, and many others whose names are interwoven with the history of the State trod then the streets of Lexington.

In the fall of this year of 1818 came that brilliant scholar, Dr. Horace Holley, of Boston, to be President of Transylvania University. He was in the prime of life, of handsome and distinguished presence, always careful and elegant in dress, and possessed of great social charm. He had a beautiful voice, and was a finished public speaker. His coming marked a new era in the history of the University; for, during his administration, it grew from a comparatively local institution to a centre of learning for the whole Mississippi Valley. In the last year of his Presidency, four hundred and eighteen pupils were in attendance, and during the nine years he was here five hundred and fifty-eight graduates went forth from its halls.

The buildings of the University were insignificant when President Holley came. Soon afterward, a handsome, three-story, brick building was erected, which cost thirty thousand dollars—a large sum in those days. The University at this time consisted of the regular Grammar School and Academic Department, the Department of Law, of which Henry Clay had been a professor for two years, and the Medical College, which seems to have been the most successful of the three. It had five professors then, and a few years later was to be ranked as the second College of Medicine in the United States,—both in the number of its students, and the reputation of its professors. The degree of Doctor of Medicine had been conferred the year before, in 1817, for the first time in the West.

These professors of the gentle art of healing sometimes inflicted wounds, as well as cured them. The town was still talking of a duel between two of its

prominent professors, Doctor Dudley and Doctor Richardson, in which Doctor Richardson was dangerously wounded, and would have bled to death, but for the skill and magnanimity of his antagonist, who arrested the hemorrhage by the pressure of his thumb on the critical point, until the frightened surgeon in attendance could make a ligature of the artery.

Each of the three Departments of the University had its own special library.

A few months after President Holley came a new Chair was started, that of Botany and Natural History. This seems very simple now, but it was a most progressive step for those early days. That was the time of classical education, pure and simple, and there was no interest in any other roots than those of Greek and Latin origin.

Constantine Samuel Rafinesque was called to this Chair, and became the first resident Professor of Natural Science in the State of Kentucky. And now, a word to show how this old world student had drifted to this far Western town—for so Lexington seemed in those days.

Rafinesque was a foreigner, but he might more truly have been called a cosmopolitan. His father was a French traveling merchant, his mother a German, born in Greece. He himself was born in 1783, in Constantinople, where some of his father's mercantile ventures had placed the family temporarily. His other homes had been in Southern France, in Italy, and in Sicily, before he came to America.

His father died when he was young, and he seems to have largely followed his own bent in his education. He was an accomplished linguist, and wrote books and articles in French, Italian, German, Latin, and English. From childhood he was a student of nature. He said he first became conscious of existence in the spacious grounds of one of the beautiful country seats around Marseilles, and then began to enjoy life, and became a botanist. When a little fellow, he made himself a garden in a remote place so as to study plants. He arranged an herbarium, began collections of shells and crabs, dissected and drew fishes and birds, and spent all the time usually spent by boys in play in searching the great book of nature. He was an omniverous reader, but along lines of his own choice. If his immense capacity for hard work, and immense love of all natural life, had been based on an education guided by some wise master hand, he would have been one of the world's great naturalists; but the lack of system in his early mental training was a serious drawback to his work, for he lacked those habits of close application and patient research which characterize the labors of the best men of science.

He followed a number of avocations during the years before he finally came to America, but seems to have failed of success in practical affairs. At last, when he was in Philadelphia, he met that accomplished gentleman and enthusiastic scientist, John D. Clifford of Lexington, who seems to have recognized his great talents, and who persuaded him to come West and try his fortunes. It is supposed

that it was through Mr. Clifford's influence that the Professorship in Transylvania University was tendered to him. Rafinesque seems to have been all but penniless then, so he gladly consented to come to Kentucky.

He went to Pittsburgh, and made the journey down the Ohio in a flat-boat, traveling by day and resting by night. He spent the time in the congenial study of the flowers, the fishes, and the mollusks of this new region. Here, and during a visit to the village of Louisville, he gathered the materials for his book, "The Fishes of the Ohio River," which was written while he was in Lexington, and first published in a periodical issued there at that time, *The Western Review*. This book, while containing errors from hasty and incomplete observations, yet remains the groundwork of the ichthyological literature of the great Valley of the Mississippi.

From Louisville he went by the river to Henderson, and visited Audubon, who lived there at that time. Audubon's description of Rafinesque, under the title of "An Eccentric Naturalist," is none too kind, and some think none too true.

Rafinesque tramped through Southern Kentucky on foot, and finally landed in Lexington in the summer of 1819, and was most kindly received by his good friend, Clifford.

Here he spent seven full and busy years. He was at this time about thirty-six years old, of medium height, with dark eyes and long black hair, and with something in expression and carriage that marked him for a foreigner. He had a room in the College Building, which was filled with butterflies, beetles, flowers, and all sorts of specimens. I infer he was not a great success as a teacher. His queer, foreign ways, his abstraction, and absorption in his theme were irresistible challenges to the mischief-loving students, and they played many tricks on him; and then he stood for a science which was new, and counted of but little importance in those days.

A well-known naturalist wrote, not long ago, that Rafinesque's misfortune was to have been a half century ahead of his associates; and he was in advance in the method as well as in the matter of his teaching, for he was the first object teacher in Kentucky, illustrating his lectures with exhibitions of specimens, and thus introduced a method which now obtains everywhere among competent instructors.

In addition to class-room duties, he gave lectures on various lines, to which not only students but the people of the town were invited. One who attended some of these lectures writes of them as having been most instructive and entertaining. He also had classes in French, Italian, and Spanish, to which citizens were allowed to come, and is said to have been the pioneer in the West in teaching modern languages.

The first Scientific Society in the State, "The Kentucky Institute," was organized about this time, of which Doctor Holley was President, and Rafinesque

was Secretary; and before this, our naturalist read many scientific papers. But while a teacher in-doors, he was the same indefatigable student of out-door life in Kentucky that he had been all his life. He seems to have tramped over all accessible parts of the State—from South Kentucky through Eastern Kentucky, as far as Cumberland Gap, and even over into Tennessee—and he made extensive studies and collections in all branches of Natural Science found there. There is probably not a nook or corner of interest within ten miles of Lexington which he did not explore, always traveling afoot, and carrying a pack at his back for specimens. He seems to have taken a special interest in exploring and mapping out the antiquarian remains which were then plainly visible around the town; and he claimed to have found distinctly defined fortifications of an ancient city in the neighborhood of Lexington. His map and plate of those old remains are now among the Smithsonian Institute collections, in Washington.

He planned a book and started it while in Lexington, called "Ancient Annals of Kentucky," but he never finished it. But he did complete an immense amount of literary work during his residence here.—in addition to the book I have mentioned, "The Fishes of the Ohio River." Seventy-three articles are enumerated in his bibliography as having been written and published while he was in Lexington.

After he had been here about five years, he inaugurated another project which showed how far he was in advance of his associates; that was, to start a Botanic Garden, in connection with Transylvania University. The old papers I mentioned in the beginning of this article are the records in connection with that enterprise. They consist of a book of share-holders, a book of Minutes, and a journal kept by Rafinesque for a month, all written in his clear and beautiful handwriting.

His first plan seems to have been to get an appropriation from the Legislature for his Garden, and a bill to that effect did pass the Senate in January, 1824, but the House failed to sanction it. He then decided on a joint stock company, with shares at fifty dollars, payable in instalments. A prospectus of the "Transylvania Botanic Garden Company" was prepared by Rafinesque, in which its advantages are attractively set forth. He speaks first of the benefits Lexington will receive from it, and says:

"Our Garden will be situated in such a manner, and so far ornamented as to become a great embellishment to Lexington. A convenient lot is to be chosen within the town limits, a small but elegant building erected, with a portico, green house, aviaries, bowers, library, museum and many other suitable ornaments. The Garden will be such as to unite utility with pleasure, and will afford a pleasant resort and delightful walk to the citizens and ladies, where health, instruction, and pleasure will be met at every step."

The prospectus then points out the advantages to the students, and says: "it is to become a permanent branch of the University, and is to be of practical

utility for medical students and young farmers. They will find here the medical plants of North America and Europe, and acquire an accurate knowledge of them—while the sons of our farmers will witness experiments and receive instruction on the practical and scientific principles of husbandry and gardening, thus imbibing a taste for an improved cultivation of our bountiful country. It will be the first of its kind on this side of the mountains, and will supply a deficiency in our institution, by promoting the farming interest in this great agricultural state.”

We see here a prophecy of Experiment Stations in connection with our State Colleges.

The old subscription book is very interesting, because the autographs of many well known names are found there. Most of the subscribers only take one share, fifty dollars; but Rafinesque is down for five shares, Doctor Benjamin Dudley for five, Robert Wickliffe, for six, Henry Clay for two, William Barry for one. We find many names of non-residents of Lexington among the list, among them being John J. Crittenden of Frankfort, Gen. Taylor of Newport, Major Short of Hopkinsville, and Nicholas Longworth of Cincinnati, who subscribes for six shares, to be paid in trees, plants, and seeds,—he being a nursery man.

Mr. Ficklin seems to have been President of The Transylvania Botanic Garden Company, and Rafinesque Secretary.

By the following fall, enough money had been paid in to justify them in the purchase of property, for we find this entry in the Minutes of September 24, 1824:

“Unanimously resolved to purchase the lot of Joseph Megowan on East Main Street, of about 10 acres, for \$1000.00, payable in 5 years.”

The following January, in 1825, Rafinesque was made Superintendent, and was empowered to take preliminary steps to carry the garden into operation. By March, one thousand dollars of the stock seems to have been paid up, and the new Superintendent began active work. His journal, in his beautiful handwriting, tells of the energetic and skillful way this enterprise was started, and pictures to us one happy spring month from the past of Lexington. I will give some of the entries, which will be found interesting by any lover of gardens.

“March 14. Engaged James Stewart as gardener for \$20.00 per month—David Meade sends Billy, an able Black man, for labour. I set them to work to pull corn stalks.

“March 15. Bought 2 spades, 2 hoes, 2 rakes, 2 lines for the gardeners. I try in vain to get a plough, to plough 3 acres of the garden, and to send for 1000 young trees in the woods. We clear the ground in front of the garden, mend fences, etc.

“March 17. We dig holes for locust trees. We trace the main walk and the serpentine walk.

“March 18. We plant cherry trees, raspberries, weeping willows, cotton trees, wahoos, and several wild plants.

THE TRANSYLVANIA BOTANIC GARDEN

"March 19. Sent Billy to Mr. Meade's to bring cart load of trees, cuttings and seeds from his pleasure grounds.

"March 21. Billy does not return. I hire a black man, William, for a week at \$4.00.

"March 22. Billy comes back with cart load of slips and cuttings from David Meade's. We begin to plant them.

"March 23. We plant and plough. I make bargain with Wasson to bring trees and roots from the Knobs at 1 to 3 dollars per 100 trees or roots.

"March 24. Mr. Ficklin buys 100 trees of Wasson for \$13.00, which I had refused to take. We plant the serpentine walks and Main Alley. We discover 2 springs in the garden.

"March 25. We pull corn, grub, plant trees; begin to harrow. Martin brings 850 young locust trees and other trees at \$1.50 per 100. We plant ash trees.

"March 26. Having so many trees to plant, I engage William for another week.

"March 28. I lay out the Meridian line and alley." The rest of the month is spent in plowing, planting and bargaining. He mentions an order for silk worm eggs.

"April 1. Locusts planted all around. We begin to graft.

"April 2. Lay out garden, and begin to plant 100 kinds of seed.

"April 4. Easter Monday—Billy is sick. I lay out the central circle.

"April 5. Received many presents of seeds and plants from Messrs. Clay, Ward, Fowler and Megowan.

"April 6. Billy is better and works. We go in the kitchen garden. First load of plants come.

"April 7. We sow beans, pulse and early corn. I pay William by the job, 25 cts. for 100 yards of spading.

"April 8. Finished digging for the present; paid \$18.00 to Solomon. We spade and sow. Bought shoes for Billy.

"April 9. Wasson brings 1500 trees, shrubs and roots from the Knobs. I pay him for 1300—only \$20.00. Stewart is drunk.

"April 11. Planted trees, etc., brought by Wasson. Stewart again drunk, and is to be dismissed at the end of his month.

"April 12. Stewart wants his money, saying his month is out—which happens only the 14th—He has had \$12.00 on account, and is in debt for the remaining \$8.00, which I keep. He does mischief in the garden, steals shrubs, keeps seeds, and threatens me, being drunk all the while. I am compelled to get a warrant against him.

"April 13. Stewart leaves the town and clears off. Five Dollars is due him, claimed by several. We plant and sow.

"April 14. Planted an acre in Castor Oil Bean. Finished the meridian walk.

"April 15. Laid off level plat in front. Made a hot bed.

"April 16. Sowed Marsh Mallows in all the borders of the level plat. Sowed medical plants.

"April 18. Laid off the base of the hill. Sow Camomile, Aniseed, etc.

"April 19. Spaded borders. Received 200 valuable fruit trees and shrubs, and 27 pots from Mr. Nicholas Longworth.

"April 20. Planted all Mr. Longworth's trees. Hired a man Isaac to help. Almost all growing, but with etiolated sprouts. One pot broken. Sent Mr. Leavy 2 Gardenias, 1 Rose, and to Mr. Holly 2 roses, 1 geranium, and 2 Jasmines in pots."

The journal ends here, and I find no further note of the progress of the Garden until the following June, when Rafinesque seems to have gone to Washington. He wrote a letter to Mr. Ficklin, just before he left. There is a spice of sarcasm in one sentence in the letter where he says: "The managers can attend to the garden during my absence, by walking there occasionally in the cool of the mornings and evenings." He appended to the letter fifteen explicit instructions for the men engaged to work in the Garden.

Rafinesque appears to have been absent the rest of the summer; and, in the meantime, the Garden seems to have fallen into financial difficulties. The only entry in the minutes during the following fall was one to the effect that the Superintendent had called several meetings, but no one came. Finally in March, 1826, a meeting was secured, when it was resolved: "That it is expedient to suspend further proceedings towards establishing the Transylvania Botanic Garden, and that the property be sold, and the proceeds divided proportionally among such shareholders as have paid their installments."

Thus ended this enterprise, and we need not be surprised that a movement so far in advance of the spirit of those early days should have come to so speedy a termination. Doubtless it was only carried on so long as it was by the sheer enthusiasm and impetus of the remarkable man who conceived it.

Rafinesque left Lexington of his own accord shortly afterward. Whether disheartened by the collapse of his Garden, or whether other things lead him to go away, we have no means of knowing. He seems to have had a serious rupture with Doctor Holley about this time. We can readily understand that his long tramps and absences from school-room duty were a trial to the soul of the President. In one of Rafinesque's letters after he returned to Philadelphia, he writes:

"When I returned to Lexington, I found my rooms had been broken open, one of them given to a student, and all my effects, books and collections thrown in a heap on the floor. I was deprived of my position as Librarian, and of my board in the College. I took lodgings in town, and carried away all my effects—thus leaving the College with curses on it and Holley—who were both reached by them soon after, since he died next year at sea of yellow fever, and the College has been burned with all its effects." Our poor Naturalist was certainly vindictive!

THE TRANSYLVANIA BOTANIC GARDEN

He led a struggling existence for several years in Philadelphia—poor in pocket, poor in health, and with failing mental powers, and finally died alone in a miserable garret, of cancer of the stomach.

A man of great energy, of indomitable will, of unbounded enthusiasm, it might be said of him, as it was said of Rossetti: "He was eaten up with the impatience of genius."





· TILDEN ·

The Famous Boundary Dispute Between Rhode Island and Massachusetts

BY
GEORGE COWLES LAY



HIS controversy engaged the attention of the United States Supreme Court for many years and on many occasions and presented a variety of legal questions.

To a Rhode Islander, its historic interest may possibly "relieve the drudgery of perusing briefs, demurrers, and pleas in bar, bills in equity and answers," but the general reader will hardly find in the recital "topics, which give sprightliness, freshness and something of an uncommon interest to proceedings in courts of law." [Note 1.]

The dispute related to the northern boundary of Rhode Island and affected a territory between eighty and one hundred square miles, being a part of six townships incorporated under the laws of Massachusetts, with a population, in 1838, of five thousand persons, increased to seven thousand in 1841, and a taxable valuation of one million dollars in 1841.

By the Charter of Rhode Island, that Commonwealth was bounded on the north by the south line of Massachusetts, and that line, by the Massachusetts Charter, was to be three miles south of the most southerly part of Charles River, or any or every part thereof. Massachusetts insisted that the most southerly source or spring head of any run of water, flowing northerly, and finding its way into Charles River, was to be taken as the most southerly part of Charles River, and her surveyors, finding a brook, called Mill Brook, which ran from the south into the Charles River, traced it up to Whiting's Pond, and at the south end of the pond they found another brook, called Jack's Pasture Brook, which they traced up south to its spring head, which they called the most southerly part of the Charles River. [Note 1.]

The point thus found was marked by a stake known as the "Woodward & Saffrey Station," located on Wrentham Plains as early as 1642, and it remained

Notes 1. Daniel Webster, in *Luther vs. Borden*, 7 How. Reports 1. See *Writings & Speeches of Daniel Webster*, Vol. XI. 217, Nat. Ed. 1903.

Notes 1. Referring to the boundary line laid down by the original charter of Massachusetts, Rufus Choate gave the famous description: "Beginning at a hive of bees at swarming time and running thence to a hundred foxes with fire brands tied to their tails." Everett F. Wheeler's "Daniel Webster," Putnam, 1905.

for two hundred years the starting point for the northern boundary line of Rhode Island.

After a long and sharply contested litigation, extending over fourteen years, Rhode Island was defeated and the claims of Massachusetts to the disputed territory were sustained.

The litigation was remarkable for the variety of its features and for the importance of the legal questions settled.

A brief review of the steps taken in the case illustrates the resources of a defendant in postponing a decision on the merits and the intricacies of special pleading. On the 16th of March, 1832, Rhode Island filed her bill of complaint in the United States Supreme Court for the settlement of the boundary and applied for the issue of a subpoena. The Court held the matter under advisement for nearly a year, but issued the subpoena to Massachusetts on the 2nd of March, 1833. Appearance for Massachusetts was entered by Daniel Webster in January, 1834, and a plea and answer on her behalf were filed in January, 1835, settings up in bar of the suit certain agreements made between the States in 1710 and 1718.

The replication of Rhode Island was not filed until August, 1836.

The first appearance of the case in the Reports was at the January Term of the Supreme Court in 1837, when an application was made by Rhode Island and granted by the Court, for postponement of argument on account of the illness of Mr. Benjamin Hazard, Counsel for Rhode Island. It was then stated that the case had been pending for six years, and two years had passed since the answer of Massachusetts was filed. [Note 1.]

In January, 1838, when the cause came up again, Mr. Webster moved to dismiss the bill for want of jurisdiction. [Note 2.]

This question was very fully argued, but the Court sustained its jurisdiction, holding that a boundary dispute between States was to be settled by the same procedure and according to the same principles as in case of a dispute between individuals, and was not a political question.

Massachusetts then moved for leave to withdraw the plea, answer, and appearance of that Commonwealth, and Rhode Island moved for leave to file an amended bill. The Court granted leave to withdraw the plea and appearance of Massachusetts, and authorized Rhode Island to proceed *ex parte*, but if the appearance was not withdrawn, the parties were allowed to amend their pleadings. [Note 3.]

Massachusetts thought better of her plan to withdraw her appearance and decided to keep up the fight.

Rhode Island accordingly amended her bill of complaint by adding a few more documents, and the Court directed Massachusetts to answer the amended bill on or before the 23rd day of the January Term, 1840. [Note 4.]

Note 1. 11 Pet. R. 226.
 Note 2. 12 Pet. 657.
 Note 3. 12 Pet. 755.
 Note 4. 13 Pet. 23.

RHODE ISLAND AND MASSACHUSETTS BOUNDARY DISPUTE

Massachusetts then filed a plea and answer, which were the same as those originally filed. In other words, the defendant pleaded two agreements between Rhode Island and Massachusetts, of January 19, 1710, and October 22, 1718, and unmolested possession of the territory in question under said agreement, from their date, as a bar to the whole bill.

The case then again came before the Court on the sufficiency of the plea and answer, which had the force of a general demurrer. [*Note 1.*]

The questions of the effect of the agreements upon the rights of Rhode Island and undisturbed possession by Massachusetts of the territory were thus presented upon the pleadings alone, without the taking of evidence. A controversy arose at the opening of the argument as to the right of counsel to open and close. It was decided that Massachusetts, who interposed the plea and answer, was entitled to begin and close.

The Court, after a long argument, held that in controversies between States, the strict rules of pleading should not be observed, and declined to assume all the facts in the plea and answer to be true, and thus decide a case of this importance upon mere allegations contained in pleadings, preferring to determine the case upon the merits after taking evidence, and without the embarrassment of technical rules of special pleading.

It was further held that the plea was invalid as it was two-fold and multifarious: (1) an accord and a compromise of a disputed right; and (2) prescription or unmolested possession from the time of the agreement.

On the 8th of January, 1841, Massachusetts, still seeking to avoid a decision on the merits, filed a demurrer to the bill, the effect of which was to admit the truth of the facts pleaded by Rhode Island, who, it was claimed, was entitled, upon her own showing, to no relief.

This demurrer came on for argument at the January term, 1841, but was overruled, the Court holding that the bill of complaint presented a case in equity for relief from mistake, and that the statute of limitations, which would bar an individual from asserting old and stale claims, would not apply to independent States, which cannot generally act with the same promptness as individuals. [*Note 2.*]

A decree was entered, overruling the demurrer, and directing Massachusetts to serve her answer on or before August 1, 1841.

Massachusetts then again interposed her answer, evidence was taken, and, finally, the case came on for final hearing on the merits as to the true boundary at the January term, 1846, more than fourteen years from the commencement of the suit.

The case was argued by Daniel Webster and Rufus Choate for Massachusetts, and by John Whipple and Richard K. Randolph for Rhode Island. This was the first appearance of Choate in the United States Supreme Court, where

Note 1. 14 Pet. 209.
Note 2. 15 Pet. 233.

he made a great impression upon the Court and the audience which crowded the room to hear him. [Note 1.]

The Court referred to the survey of Samuel Woodward and Solomon Saffrey in 1642, and laid stress upon the construction of the Charter of Massachusetts by that Commonwealth, and assented to by the Colony of Plymouth, that the line distant "three English miles on the south part of Charles River, or of any or every part thereof," which was the southern boundary of Massachusetts, was to be measured, not from the main channel of Charles River, but from the head waters of one of its tributaries.

The Court held that the agreement between Commissioners of Rhode Island and Massachusetts of January 19, 1710, and October 22, 1718, were binding upon the State of Rhode Island. The first of these agreements provided that the Woodward & Saffrey Station in latitude of 41 degrees and 55 minutes, set up in 1642 by these surveyors, characterized as "skilful, approved artists," was "accompted and allowed on both sides the commencement of the line between Massachusetts and the Colony of Rhode Island."

The second agreement was in substantially the same language, that the stake of Woodward & Saffrey in 1642 upon Wrentham Plain be the station or commencement to begin the line. Both agreements were returned to the Legislatures of both States and duly sanctioned and approved.

The Court considered the arguments urged by Rhode Island, that the Charter of Massachusetts had been misconstrued in fixing the boundary at a point three miles south of the headwaters of a tributary of the Charles River, instead of its main channel; and declared that the meaning of the Charter was not free from doubt, and that men of equal intelligence might differ in opinion as to its true construction; but held that the proceedings between the early Colonies, and especially the solemn agreements between the contending parties in 1710 and 1718, established a fixed construction of the Charter favorable to Massachusetts, and, in the absence of fraud and without satisfactory evidence of mistake, Rhode Island was not entitled to relief. Furthermore, the Court held that possession by Massachusetts, steadily maintained for more than two centuries under an assertion of right, could not be overcome by Rhode Island, especially as she had admitted the right of Massachusetts by two solemn agreements.

More than forty years elapsed before any mistake was alleged and since such allegation a century had passed.

Note 1. Alexander H. Stephens, speaking of Choate on this occasion, said: "It was as dull a case as any ordinary land ejectment suit . . . In two hours he had finished a thorough argument, which was interspersed with sublime imagery. Every paragraph was as the turning of a kaleidoscope, where new and brilliant images are presented at every turn. At the conclusion of that speech, I was confirmed in the opinion that he was the greatest orator I ever heard." *Memories of Rufus Choate*, by Joseph Nelson, Boston, 1884.

"Mr. Randolph occupied three days in referring to and reading ancient grants and documents. Mr. Choate confined himself to two points: (1) the true interpretation of the charter; (2) the acts of 1713 and 1718 of Rhode Island. But these points went to the very marrow of the case, and, as illustrated, expanded and enforced by Mr. Choate with his remarkable diction, with his clear and searching analysis and his subtle logic, went far utterly to destroy the work of the preceding three days. Judge Catron is reported to have said: 'I have heard the most eminent advocates but he surpasses them all.' Of this argument there remains no report, nor have any fragments of it been found among Mr. Choate's manuscripts." *Works of Rufus Choate*, by Samuel Gilman Brown, Boston, 1862.

RHODE ISLAND AND MASSACHUSETTS BOUNDARY DISPUTE

"For the security of rights, whether of States or individuals," the Court said, in conclusion, dismissing the bill, "long possession under a claim of title is protected, and there is no controversy in which this great principle may be involved with greater justice and propriety than in a case of disputed boundary."

The subsequent efforts to establish the northern and eastern boundary lines of Rhode Island are of unusual interest. The difficulties of reaching a binding agreement were not overcome until 1885.

Before the decision of the United States Supreme Court was rendered, dismissing the bill of Rhode Island at the December term, 1845, Commissioners had been appointed by both States, with plenary powers, to ascertain and settle the dividing line between the States from the northwest corner of Rhode Island to the ocean. This included both the northern and eastern boundaries.

When the Supreme Court decision was handed down, the ancient boundary line of Rhode Island on the north was adopted by the Commission, which appointed a surveyor to run the line.

An agreement was made between the Commissioners at Boston on the 31st of December, 1846, determining the true boundary line from "Burnt Swamp Corner" in the town of Wrentham to the northwest corner of Rhode Island on the east line of the State of Connecticut, subject to the ratification of the Legislature of the respective States.

The Commissioners stated in this agreement that, "by actual perambulation," the north jurisdictional line, that is, the one established by the Supreme Court and observed by the parties, was, in many places, crooked and indented, and in others obscure and ill defined, and they accordingly resolved to establish, and directed the official surveyor to run, a straight line between the monuments at either end of the line, which were well known and undisputed.

The eastern end of the line was at "Burnt Swamp Corner" in the town of Wrentham, Massachusetts, marked by a heap of stones, "which tradition points out to have been placed there by the Commissioners on the part of Rhode Island in 1746," and the western point was on the Connecticut line, marked by a heap of small stones on a granite boulder. "Burnt Swamp Corner" was found to be in latitude 42° , $.01'$, $.08$, "and longitude west of Greenwich 71° , $23'$, 13 ," and the monument at the northwest corner of Rhode Island in latitude 42° , $00'$, 29 , "and longitude 71° , $40'$, 18 ."

The distance between the two monuments was twenty-one miles, and five hundred and twelve one-thousandths of a mile.

This agreement was ratified by the Massachusetts Legislature in April, 1847. [Note 1.]

Early in 1847, the Commission then took up the Eastern Boundary from "Burnt Swamp Corner" to the Atlantic Ocean, and entered into a second agree-

Note 1. Report of Joint Committee made to the Legislature of Rhode Island at January Session, 1849, published at Providence, 1849.

ment at Boston on the 28th of April, 1847, and settled that portion of the line, subject to ratification, as before.

In May, 1847, the Legislature of Rhode Island ratified and established this agreement and also the line defined by the Commissioners in their former agreement of December 31, 1846, "this ratification to take effect and become binding whenever the aforesaid agreement and boundary shall be ratified by the State of Massachusetts."

In January, 1848, the Commissioners presented to Governor Briggs of Massachusetts a detailed report of the entire line of boundary between the States, ascertained, established, and definitely marked.

They reported that they had put in position on the northern line of Rhode Island twenty-seven stone monuments, exclusive of those at the termini, made of granite, about eight inches square and five feet long, and set into the ground about two and one-half feet, and thoroughly secured. The monument on the Connecticut line was a "truncated pyramid about a foot square and four feet high erected on a high granite boulder. On the side towards Connecticut, it shows the letters CON; on that towards Massachusetts MASS.; and on that towards Rhode Island R. I."

The monument at "Burnt Swamp Corner" was erected in a foundation of rubble stones, deeply imbedded in the soil and was marked on two sides with the letters "MASS." and the others with "R. I."

The location of the twenty-seven intermediate monuments was particularly stated.

The Commission also reported that they had marked the line from Wrentham Plain to the Atlantic Ocean.

The result was not satisfactory to Massachusetts, for, although the straightening of the so-called jurisdictional line was in her favor, she gaining about three hundred and forty acres, the eastern line of Rhode Island, fixed by the agreement of 1847, and afterwards located, was greatly in favor of Rhode Island.

Accordingly, in April, 1848, the General Court of Massachusetts passed resolutions, making null and void the agreement of the 28th of April, 1847, relating to the eastern boundary of Rhode Island.

There arose then a new controversy between the States over the eastern line of Rhode Island.

Massachusetts filed a bill of complaint in 1860 in the United States Supreme Court, against Rhode Island to settle this boundary. While the suit was pending a compromise was made whereby a decree was entered by consent in the Supreme Court, in the December term, 1861, definitely fixing the line from "Burnt Swamp Corner" to the Atlantic Ocean.

This line varied materially from the one agreed on in 1847 and made extensive changes of territory between "Burnt Swamp Corner" and the Ocean, Rhode Island receiving the town of Pawtucket and a large portion of Seekirk, and Massachusetts obtaining the town of Fall River.

RHODE ISLAND AND MASSACHUSETTS BOUNDARY DISPUTE

The line was surveyed, and permanent monuments established, and the controversy was adjusted in a manner eminently favorable to Rhode Island.

But in the legislation following this decree affecting the eastern boundary of Massachusetts nothing was said about the northern boundary of Rhode Island.

It was thereupon recommended by the Committee on Federal Relations in the Senate of Massachusetts, April 29, 1865, that the Legislature ratify the line as surveyed and agreed upon by the Commissioners in December, 1846, between Burnt Swamp Corner and the northwesterly corner of Rhode Island, and thus define the rights of property and of jurisdiction in the border towns. Accordingly, in 1865, Massachusetts passed an act, as follows:

RESOLVED that the boundary line between the State of Rhode Island and the Commonwealth of Massachusetts from the line of the state of Connecticut to Burnt Swamp Corner begins at the north west corner of the state of Rhode Island on the Connecticut line in lat. $42^{\circ} 00' 29''$ N. and longitude $74^{\circ} 48' 18''$ west of Greenwich, [*Note 1*] and runs in a straight line 21.512 miles to Burnt Swamp Corner to Wrentham, being in lat. $42^{\circ} 01' 08''$ and longitude $71^{\circ} 23' 13''$.

This line intended to be established is the same line agreed upon by the Boundary Commissioners in December, 1846, and known as the "line of 1848," because the monuments were reported in the latter year. This tardy ratification by Massachusetts was, in turn, rejected by Rhode Island, on the ground that the then recent settlement of the eastern boundary by the decree of the Supreme Court had so changed the aspect of the controversy that she could not consent to the adoption of the line of 1848 as her northern boundary. [*Note 2.*]

In June, 1880, Rhode Island passed an act to remove the monuments of the "line of 1848" and erect monuments on the jurisdictional line, and Massachusetts, in 1881, passed a similar enactment, the intention being to return to the crooked, irregular, and traditional line in force before the agreement in December, 1846, and the line of 1848, in accordance therewith, were adopted.

Thereupon Commissioners were appointed by both States to remove the stone monuments erected to mark the "conventional line" between Massachusetts and Rhode Island, established in 1847 and 1848, and to cause suitable monuments to be erected as the true jurisdictional boundary line.

In January, 1883, these Commissioners reported to the Government that they agreed upon the termini, as established in 1847 and 1848, but each Board of Commissioners claimed a different line to be the true jurisdictional line, the two lines at the point of greatest divergence being over five hundred feet apart. They finally came to the conclusion that a certain line was the true jurisdictional line

Note 1. A clerical error in this resolution is pointed out in the Report of Commissioners made to the Rhode Island Assembly in May, 1867. The longitude of the northwest corner of Rhode Island is $71^{\circ} 48' 18''$ west of Greenwich. The Report of Engineer Wm. S. Haines, attached to the Report of Commissioners in May, 1867, showed that Rhode Island lost by the "conventional" straight line 340.60 acres, the value of which, with the buildings thereon, was \$126,000.

Note 2. Boundaries of the United States, by Henry Gannett, Geographer, connected with the U. S. Geological Survey at Washington, D. C., 1904, p. 64.

and recommended that the same be fixed by act of the Legislature, which accompanied their report. [*Note 1.*]

Pursuant to this recommendation, the Legislatures passed acts establishing the northern boundary line of Rhode Island by reference to the same landmarks. The Rhode Island Act was passed March 22, 1883, and the Massachusetts Act was passed April 30, 1883. Both the States authorized the Commissioners therefore appointed to procure and set up stone monuments at such points on said line of such size and with such marks as might by them be deemed expedient.

Acting under this authority, the Commissioners removed the old monuments and erected new ones, and at the completion of the work the long lost boundary was finally inspected on the 7th of December, 1883, by Governor Benjamin F. Butler, of Massachusetts, and Governor Augustus O. Bourn, of Rhode Island, with their several heads of departments, and pronounced satisfactory. [*Note 2.*]

The long controversy was at last settled, nearly forty years after the decision of the United States Supreme Court. [*Note 3.*]

Note 1. See Report of Commissioners on Northern Boundary Line between Rhode Island and Massachusetts, January, 1883.

Note 2. The report of John W. Ellis and Wm. Rotch, the Engineers, stated the total length of the line was 21.52 miles and the latitude and longitude as follows: Northwest corner of Rhode Island lat. $42^{\circ} 00' 28.14''$; long. $71^{\circ} 47' 59.07''$. Burnt Swamp Corner lat. $42^{\circ} 01' 07.26''$; long. $71^{\circ} 22' 54.26''$.

Note 3. In 1897 Massachusetts passed an act directing Commissioners on the topographical survey and map of Massachusetts to locate, define, and mark by appropriate monuments along the boundary line, from Burnt Swamp Corner southerly to the sea, a series of straight lines to follow as nearly as might be the line established by the decree of the Supreme Court of the United States, dated the 16th day of December, 1861. In 1899 a similar act was passed by Rhode Island.



The Ancestry of Jay Gould



It is a curious fact that very little has ever been known by the public at large of the antecedents of a man so prominent in the public horizon as was Jay Gould. It is curious because so much space was given for many years in the press to matter concerning him, and because his ancestry was one so in harmony with the best American ideals.

The Goulds, the Burrs, the Bradleys, the Talcotts,—to cite four only of Mr. Jay Gould's ancestral lines,—were of that old New England stock whose strength of conviction, vigor of action, and grandeur of conception as to the profound seriousness of religious and patriotic loyalty, have bred deep into the very fibre of our Nation's life. The blood of the men and women who made New England, and, going out from New England, have helped splendidly in the making of all America, is an heritage of most noble worth, and most heart-searching responsibility.

Major Nathan Gold, or Gould, was the first of his name in America. He came from St. Edmundsbury, in the south of England, where he had evidently been of good birth and position, for he at once took a prominent part in the affairs of the Colony of Connecticut, and this was ever a mark of the standing of the immigrant in his own country. This is the more emphasized by the fact that he was one of the nineteen signers of the petition for the Charter of Connecticut, "which petition was only signed by gentlemen who had sustained a high reputation in England before coming to this country." He was one of the Patentees named by King Charles in granting the Charter.

He brought money with him from England, for he soon made extensive purchases of land at Milford, Connecticut, where the earliest mention of him in the land records is in 1647. In 1649 he sold this property and bought land at Fairfield, Connecticut, where he settled; and Fairfield was the home of the family from that time on for several generations. Many of the tombstones of members of the family are still standing in the old burying-ground there.

In June, 1672, Nathan Gold was appointed Major of the Train Band, or Militia, organized for the defence of the community. It was the highest military rank at that time. He had before held rank as Lieutenant and Captain.

He was a magistrate for the County of Fairfield in 1657, and from 1659 to 1663, being appointed later as Judge by Governor Andros. He was for thirty years, consecutively, Assistant in the General Court of Assembly, a position which answers to the present one of State Senator. In this capacity he was actively

engaged in the management of the Colony's affairs, serving on innumerable committees and in positions of public confidence. As Major of the Train Band he had the oversight of the defence of his County of Fairfield, and was frequently called upon to arbitrate between the Colonists and the Indians.

In 1683 he accompanied the Governor of Connecticut to New York to congratulate Colonel Dongan upon his arrival as Governor of the Province of New York, and the following year was one of the commission appointed to settle the boundary line between New York and Connecticut.

Major Gold died 4 March, 1694, beloved and respected by the community. The last entry in the Public Records of Connecticut concerning him was that of the General Court held at Hartford, 12 October, 1693: "This Court grants Major Gold the sume of fifteen pownd for his good service this year."

Major Gold married Martha, the widow of Edmund Harvey of Fairfield. They had an only son, Nathan, and five daughters. Four of the daughters were: Sarah, who married John Thompson of Fairfield; Deborah, the wife of George Clark of Milford; Abigail, wife of Jonathan Selleck of Stamford; and Martha, who was the widow of John Selleck at the time of her father's death. Major Gold, in his will, divided his estate between these five children. An older daughter, married to Dr. Josiah Harvey of Fairfield, had died childless before the making of his will, as had also his wife.

Lieutenant Governor Nathan Gold rose to even greater eminence in the Colony than his father. He was very early connected with public affairs, being Town Clerk from 1684 to 1706, as well as holding other offices during that time. He was commissioned Ensign in 1690, and Captain of the Train-band, 1695.

He began his career in the General Court of Assembly as Deputy for Fairfield in 1692 and 1694, and was elected as Assistant consecutively from 1695 to 1707. At the expiration of his last term as Assistant, 13 May, 1708, he was elected as Deputy Governor of the Colony of Connecticut, and he was elected to that office every year following until his death.

He was Judge of the County Court in 1698, and from 1701 to 1707, and Judge of the Court of Probates from 1701 to 1723. During his term as Assistant he was elected as Judge of the Court of Assistants for several years, and was Chief Justice of the Superior Court from 1712 to 1723.

These high offices are sufficient attestation of the esteem in which Nathan Gold was held by the community who conferred them upon him. The Public Records of Connecticut bear silent witness to the frequency with which he was engaged upon affairs of import to the welfare of the Colony, which needed a man of known tact and ability in their transaction.

His death occurred shortly before the Fall meeting of the Assembly in 1723, when the following record was entered upon the minutes:

"At a General Assembly holden at New Haven, on the 10th day of October, Annoque Dom. 1723. This Assembly being informed of

the death of our late Honble Deputy Governour Nathan Gold, Esqr, made choice of the Honble Joseph Talcott, Esqr, to be Deputy Governour of the Colony. This Assembly grants to the heirs of the Honble Nathan Gold, Esqr, late Deputy Governour of this Colony, that they shall receive out of the treasury the whole salary which would now have been paid him if it had pleased God to have spared him longer to us, and thereupon order, that the treasurer pay to Mr. John Gold, his eldest son, for himself and the other children of that worthy gentleman, the sum of fifty pounds."

The fiscal year of the Colony did not end till the following May, and it was not customary in those days to pay for more than the value received. The paying of the full year's salary to the heirs of Nathan Gold was therefore a tribute of the regard in which he was held by the Assembly.

Deputy Governor Nathan Gold died 3 October, 1723, at the age of sixty years. His tombstone is still standing in the old burying ground at Fairfield, and reads thus :

"Here Lyes ye body of
The Honoble Nathan Gold
Esqr Leivt Gouvernour of
His Majesties Colony of
Connecticut. Decd Octr
the 3d 1723
Aetatis Saue 60 years."

The first wife of Nathan Gold, the younger, was Hannah Talcott. She was the daughter of Colonel John Talcott of Hartford. They had six children: Abigail, born in 1687, who married the Reverend Thomas Hawley of Ridgefield, Connecticut; John Gold, born in 1688, the eldest son, and the principal legatee under his father's will; Nathan Gold, born in 1690; the Reverend Hezekiah Gold, who was graduated from Harvard College in 1719, and who became minister of Stratford, Connecticut, in June, 1722; Samuel, an account of whom appears below; and Sarah, who died in infancy.

Hannah (Talcott) Gold died 28 March, 1696. Nathan Gold re-married, the name of his second wife being Sarah. By this marriage he had five children.

The Talcott family was a distinguished one in New England. The first of the name in America was John Talcott, who arrived in Massachusetts on the ship *Lion* in 1632, bringing with him his wife, and their son, John. They came from Braintree, in County Essex, but the family had been formerly of Warwickshire.

The Talcotts were armigerous, their Arms being blazoned as follows:

Arms: Argent, on a pale sable three roses of the field.

Crest: A demi-griffin erased, argent, gorged with a collar sable, charged with two roses of the field.

Motto: *Virtus sola nobilitas.*

John Talcott removed from Massachusetts to Hartford, in the Connecticut Colony, where he soon became a leader in public affairs.

His son, Lieutenant Colonel John Talbott, held high civic rank, and was a famous Indian fighter. It was early in King Philip's War that he became Lieutenant Colonel.

John Talcott, the younger, died in Hartford in 1688. He was a wealthy man for the times, his estate being valued at two thousand, two hundred and thirty-two pounds, three shillings, and six pence.

His wife was Helena Wakeman, of another distinguished Connecticut family. Her father was John Wakeman, Treasurer of the New Haven Colony in 1656. He was the son of Samuel Wakeman of Hartford.

Arms ascribed to the Wakeman family of Connecticut are blazoned as follows:

Arms: Vert, a saltire wavy, ermine.

Crest: A lion's head erased, or, out of the mouth flames of fire proper.

Motto: *Nec temere nec timide.*

The eldest son of Lieutenant Colonel John Talcott was Joseph Talcott, who succeeded Nathan Gold as Deputy Governor of Connecticut. He was afterwards elected for sixteen consecutive years as Governor of the Colony.

Hannah Talcott, the daughter of the Lieutenant Colonel and his wife, married Deputy Governor Nathan Gold. Their fourth child was Samuel Gold. He was born 27 December, 1692. He resided at Fairfield, where he died 11 October, 1769. His gravestone still stands in the old Fairfield cemetery.

Samuel Gould married Esther Bradley, and they lived in the old Gold home-
stead.

The Bradley lineage of Jay Gould begins in America with Francis Bradley, who came over with the family of Governor Eaton, with whom he resided for some time at New Haven, later settling at Fairfield, where he became a freeman in 1664.

Francis Bradley is believed to have been the son of Francis Bradley of Coventry, England, who was an intimate friend of Governor Eaton.

The following Coat-of-Arms is ascribed to Francis Bradley of Connecticut:

Arms: Gules, a chevron argent, between three boars' heads couped, or.

Crest: A boar's head couped, or.

Motto: *Liber ac sapiens esto.*

Samuel Gold and Esther Bradley had six children: David, Esther, Abigail, Abel, who married Ellen Burr, Abraham, who died in infancy, and another Abraham.

Colonel Abraham Gold of Fairfield, the youngest child of Samuel Gold and Esther Bradley, was born 10 May, 1732. He was first Captain, and then Colonel, of the Fourth Regiment, Connecticut Militia.

At the period of his early manhood, the growing indignation of the American

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Colonists under the oppression of the English government began to assume definite form. The distant mutterings of the thunders of the Revolution were already drawing nearer and soldiers were being mustered and drilled, in readiness for any emergency.

Abraham Gold, or Gould, as the name now began to be written, warmly espoused the patriot cause. He was commissioned by Governor Trumbull Colonel of the Fourth Regiment, composed of troops raised in the towns of Fairfield County.

They were soon called into activity. On Friday, April 25, 1777, Governor Tryon of New York landed two thousand troops of British at Compo, now Saugattuck. The British soldiers set fire to the village, and then marched on to Danbury. The news quickly spread and the Fairfield men were hastily called together. They came trooping in from the neighboring towns, and by evening five hundred men had collected.

Colonel Gould formed them in line on the Village Green, and they slept there that night, ready to march at day-break. Late on Saturday they reached Redding, seven miles from Danbury. There they were joined by Major General Wooster. They pushed on to Bethel, three miles from Danbury, reaching it an hour before midnight. At Bethel, where they bivouacked for the night, they could see the flames of Danbury, which the British had fired. They learned that the enemy were hastily retreating to their ships by way of the Norwalk pike, through Ridgefield.

Wooster had six hundred men. He detached four hundred, and sent them, under Colonel Gould, Silliman, and Arnold, across country to occupy Ridgefield in advance of the British, while he, with his remaining two hundred men, pursued and attacked in the rear.

Silliman reached Ridgefield about eleven o'clock on Sunday morning, and immediately threw up a barricade across the road on some rising ground. By the sound of firing to the north, they knew that Wooster had caught up with the enemy and engaged them. Soon the solid column of British soldiers appeared, and by noon came to close quarters with the handful of brave patriots, who stoutly maintained the combat, defending their position in splendid disregard of the fearful odds. It was a hand-to-hand combat around the barricade, and Colonel Gould fell, pierced by a musket ball. The Continentals were finally overpowered by the overwhelming force of numbers, and the British continued their retreat. Thus ended the Danbury Raid.

The body of Colonel Gould was placed upon his horse and so taken to his home in Fairfield. His sword, when picked up, still was wet with the enemy's blood. This sword of the Revolution is now in the possession of the family of Colonel Gould's great-grandson, Abraham Gould Jennings, Esq., of Brooklyn, New York. The sash and coat which he wore were deposited in the Trumbull Gallery, at New Haven, Conn.

Colonel Gould had married, 1 January, 1754, Elizabeth Burr, the daughter of Captain John Burr of Fairfield, and his wife, Catherine Wakeman.

This brought another strain of the Wakeman blood into Jay Gould's ancestry. Catherine Wakeman was the daughter of Joseph Wakeman, whose father was the Reverend Samuel Wakeman. The latter was the brother of Helena Wakeman, who, as noted above, married Lieutenant Colonel John Talcott, and so became the mother of Hannah Talcott, the wife of Deputy Governor Nathan Gold.

The Burrs of Fairfield were descended from Jehu Burr, born in England about 1600. He emigrated to America and died in Fairfield about 1670.

The Burr ancestry in England dates back to 1193, when Baldwin de Bures lived in Suffolk, during the reign of King Richard I.

Jehu Burr, the first American ancestor, was early in Roxbury, Massachusetts. He was a founder of Springfield, Massachusetts, and finally settled at Fairfield, Connecticut.

Colonel John Burr, the grandfather of Elizabeth (Burr) Gould, was a man of great eminence in the Connecticut Colony, and one of the largest landholders in the Colony. He held the important office of Commissary for his County, and was a Deputy in the Connecticut Assembly almost continuously from 1704 to 1724, serving as Speaker during much of that time. He was Auditor for two terms and from 1729 to 1742 was Assistant. He was Judge of the County Court and also of the Court of Probate, and in 1733 was appointed Judge of the Court of Chancery. His eldest son, Captain John Burr, was the father of Elizabeth Gould.

With such antecedents, it is not surprising to find Elizabeth Gould a woman equal to the trials incident to the time in which she lived. Hiding the dread in her heart, she helped her husband prepare for that fateful errand of duty which ended in his being brought back to her a corpse. With equal fortitude she received his body as his men unstrapped it from his horse, and when it was laid away in the grave she tenderly took the sword and soldier's raiment, put them away as precious relics for his children, and took up the broken thread of her life with courage.

And it needed courage. At the time of his death Abraham Gould was only forty-five years old, and he left a large family of nine children, the youngest just one year old. They continued to occupy the homestead at Fairfield, where Mrs. Gould died at the advanced age of eighty-four. Her gravestone and also that of her husband, may still be seen in the old cemetery at Fairfield, where the bodies of so many of the family rest.

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The following are the inscriptions, marking the graves of Abraham and Elizabeth Gould:

"This Stone is Erected by
Jason Gould
in memory of his honored Father
COL. ABRAHAM GOULD
who fell in defence of his Country
at Ridgefield
April 27th 1777, aged 44 years.
And of his deceased Brothers
JOHN BURR GOULD
died at Sea June 2nd 1781
aged 20 years
HEZEKIAH GOULD
was drowned at New York
Octr 30th 1789 aged 30 years
and DANIEL GOULD
was drowned on the coast of
France Decr 28th 1796
aged 20 years."

"In Memory of
Mrs. Elizabeth Gould
Relict of
Colo Abraham Gould
who died Sept. 5th
1815
in the 84th year of
her age."

As will be seen by these inscriptions, three of the sons of Colonel Abraham Gould met their deaths by drowning. Of the other two, Jason Gould lived at Fairfield and married Catherine Carson. He erected the stone to the memory of his father and brothers, his own being close by. He died in 1810, in the fortieth year of his age.

Captain Abraham Gould was the sixth child of Colonel Abraham and Elizabeth (Burr) Gould. He was born in Fairfield, in 1766, and was thus about eleven years old at the time of his father's death. He married in Fairfield, 5 April, 1789, Anna Osborn of that place. One child, Elizabeth, was born to them there, being baptized 4 July, 1790.

Just about this time a company consisting of twenty families and two single men, principally from Fairfield County, Connecticut, moved to Delaware County,

New York. Captain Abraham Gould and his family were among these pioneers. He settled in what was known as the West Settlement, now called Roxbury. Here he was Captain of two Companies in Colonel Silas Knap's Regiment of Delaware Militia, resigning from Lieutenant Colonel Erastus Root's Regiment 6 October, 1803.

Captain Gould and his wife had six daughters and four sons. The second child, and eldest son, was John Burr Gould. He was born in Roxbury, Delaware County, New York, 16 October, 1792, and was the first male white child born in that town.

He inherited the homestead from his father and followed the life of a farmer. Although the advantages of the place were not many for one desirous of education, John Burr Gould was well-read and he was a man of great force of character. He made the most of whatever advantages he found.

John Burr Gould married Mary More, the daughter of Alexander Taylor More of Roxbury, who was the son of John More of Forres, Elgin County, Scotland. John More immigrated to America, settling in Catskill, New York, and moving later to Roxbury. The children of John Burr Gould and his wife were: Sarah Burr, Anna, Nancy, Mary, Elizabeth, and Jay. Mary (More) Gould died in January, 1841. Mr. Gould married twice afterwards, having one son, Abraham, by his third wife, who was Mary Ann Corbin of Roxbury.

Mr. Jay Gould of New York erected a monument to the memory of his parents in the Old School Baptist Church Cemetery at Roxbury, New York, on which are the following inscriptions:

"This Obelisk
Erected 1880 by
Jay Gould,
In commemoration of his
Parents and Relations
Whose names are Hereon Inscribed."

"Eliza,
Died Dec. 19, 1841,
Aged 29 yrs.

Mary Ann
Died April 7, 1845,
aged 41 yrs.
Wives of
John B. Gould."

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"John B. Gould
Died
March 17, 1866,
aged 73 yrs., 5 mos.

His wife
Mary
Died
Jan. 12, 1841,
aged 42 yrs., 6 mos., 22 ds."

"Gould
Nancy.
Died Nov. 8, 1842,
Aged 11 yrs., 9 mos., 2 ds.

Polly,
Died March 3, 1855,
aged 22 years, 5 mos.

Daughters of
John B. & Mary
Gould."

Jay Gould was the sixth child of John Burr Gould and his first wife, Mary More. He was born at Roxbury, Delaware County, New York, 27 May, 1836, the old homestead, which was his birthplace, still being carefully preserved by his family.

There was a side of the character of Jay Gould which was not commonly known, but which is treasured to-day in the hearts of his children and of those most intimately associated with him in business and friendly relations. How great was the influence of heredity in his personality cannot be determined. But it may be believed that a part, at least, of his intensely ambitious, and indomitably persistent, character was derived from the strong, forceful men, and the brave women, whose blood flowed in his veins.

John Burr Gould was a man of standing in the community in which he lived, and he sought to give his children every educational advantage within his reach. The following extract from a letter written by Jay Gould, when only sixteen, is evidence of his ardent response to his father's aspirations for him:

"But to speak of school seems to fire every feeling in my soul. It tells me that while my schoolmates are boldly advancing step by step, up the ladder of learning, I have to hold fast to keep myself upon the same round."

A few months later in the same year, he wrote: "For the plain truth is I am

growing old too fast; my years are getting the advance of what of all things I value most, an education. There is something in the idea of possessing a refined and cultivated mind; of its noble and mighty influence, controlling the human destiny in yielding happiness and enjoyment to its possessor, and placing him where he is capable of speaking and acting for himself without being bargained away and deceived by his more enlightened brothers; something in the thought, I say, that is calculated to awaken and nourish resolutions that are worthy of a home in the human breast."

Here we get a glimpse of the boy's deepest longings; and shall we not say that it was one of those truly heroic bits of every-day life, unseen by the "madding crowd," but which we now and then find in unexpected places, that he was brave enough to face the denial of these aspirations, and to take up his life along such paths as were open to him putting as much energy into them as though they led him along according to his choice? What the result was is known the world over. Inch by inch he wrested his way, until he reached his goal, and stood the foremost of his compeers, a leading power in the world of finance.

It is only possible to touch briefly on the school days of Jay Gould. He was a studious lad, reserved by nature, and with a refinement which kept him aloof from that which was coarse and boisterous. At the age of twelve he had been through the district schools, and also the Beechwood Seminary, a school of higher grade, which had been built by his father, John Burr Gould, and some of his neighbors. After working on the farm during the day, Jay would spend the evenings, and usually part of the night, in study. But books were hard to get, and the boy petitioned his father to send him to the neighboring Academy at Hobart. Mr. Gould replied that he thought him too young to warrant the expenditure of the money it would cost. With a thoughtfulness beyond his years, Jay realized that the real difficulty lay in the expense, for the mountain farm yielded no more than a comfortable living for the family. He asked permission to earn his own way at school, and his father, wisely seeing that the boy's mind was beyond farming, gave his consent. Hobart Academy was about eight miles from Roxbury, and Jay set out on foot to interview the Principal. He was at once accepted as a scholar. Through his teacher's influence he obtained board with the blacksmith, for whom he kept accounts in payment for his board and schooling. Mr. James Oliver, Principal at Hobart, writing of this period of Jay Gould's life, says:

"Entering the school under the writer's care at the age of thirteen with a fair knowledge of the rudiments, by application, acute perception, retentive memory, and accuracy of reasoning beyond his years, he closed his school life at the age of sixteen with a sufficient knowledge of history, science, mathematics and methods of study, to enable him to read intelligently, and pursue such studies as opportunity might afford, taste dictate, or the exigencies of business require..... It has been said that he was not what may be called a 'manly boy,' that he refused

to join his companions in boisterous sports. This would not apply to the Jay Gould of the writer's acquaintance. It is true that he was not fond of rude sports and would devote the time of play to study or reading. But he was always friendly with the boys, forming many lasting friendships, and his mental and moral fibre were such that it would have been impossible for him to appeal to a teacher against a school-fellow. His self-reliance and self-respect would have revolted against such a proceeding."

John Burroughs, the naturalist and author, writing to a friend some years ago, gave the following testimony:

"Yes, Jay Gould and I were schoolmates. Our fathers' farms were about one mile apart. I remember being at school with him only two seasons, Jay's seat was behind mine in the school. He was then fourteen or fifteen. I was a little younger. I never helped him to do his sums. He was in advance of me in all his studies. But he helped me out once on a composition. The edict of the master, James Oliver, had gone forth that I must stay after school unless I handed in my composition before four o'clock. My wits would not work. Jay, seeing my dilemma, wrote a bit of doggerel on his slate (twelve lines) and pushed it slyly over to me. I copied it, and so went forth with the rest at close of school.

"Jay was a very bright student. I do not think he was an 'unmanly boy.' He seldom engaged in the sports of the school, because he was proud and exclusive, and would not put himself on an equal with the other boys. One winter the boys were seized with the wrestling craze. It was all the rage at recess and noontime. Jay would wrestle with no boy but me. He and I wrestled by the hour. He was very plucky and hard to beat. He was made of steel and rubber. I frequently went home with him and stayed all night, but he would never go home with me."

Another schoolmate writes: "In the early days of Jay Gould I was almost his constant companion. Our fathers' farms were adjoining. We attended Hobart Seminary together, rooming and sleeping together, for two terms, In his early life he was in a measure different from boys in general, in that he did not seem to enter into the sports and games of the ordinary school-boy.

"I cannot agree with Murat Halstead's 'Life of Jay Gould,' as to the latter's manliness. He was always a manly boy, but quiet and more mannerly than boys in general. He was never strong, and to this I have always attributed his not entering into the sports common to school-boys with as much spirit as other boys. He was early in life a great student, greatly devoted to books, rather exclusively inclined, good-natured, and quite fond of a joke."

After completing the course at Hobart Seminary, Jay Gould took a position as clerk in the hardware store of A. H. Burhans, in Roxbury. He still pursued his studies, by rising at four in the morning and sitting up late at night. Then his father exchanged his farm for this hardware business and gave his son its management. He now took up the study of surveying, and, in the spring of 1852,

he left the management of the business to his father and entered into an engagement with John J. Snyder to survey Ulster County, the ultimate object being to publish a map. Mr. Snyder's funds soon gave out, and the young surveyor was left without his salary. He had just ten cents left of his little stock of money, and with this, his sister afterwards stated, he never parted. He determined, however, to continue the survey and to publish the map himself.

With that foresight which characterized him throughout his career, and to which his success is in a large measure attributable, he had kept copies of his surveys, but his problem was how to live while completing the work. It seemed an impossible task. But he found a way. A farmer gave him fifty cents and his dinner for making a noon mark, and soon he had a thriving business in that line. Out of it he paid his expenses for the remaining survey and had six dollars over!

Later he surveyed and published maps of the town of Cohoes, and of the Counties of Albany, Sullivan and Delaware. At the same time, 1853 to 1856, he was given charge of expeditions for the survey of Counties in Ohio and Michigan, as well as for a railway between Newbury and Syracuse, and for the Albany and Muscayuna Plank Road.

Such an amount of work for so young a man, not yet twenty, apart from the responsibilities entailed by it, is truly remarkable, but it paved the way for greater achievements in the future. He was now fairly launched in a career, and his wonderful insight into possibilities, together with a boldness in carrying out a project of which he had once assured himself, brought him rapid success.

During his survey in Delaware County, he had gathered together notes of historical value, with the purpose of writing a history of that County. Early in 1856 he sent the manuscript to be published in Philadelphia. The greater part of it was destroyed by fire, a few proof sheets being all that was saved. Concerning this he wrote to his old teacher, Mr. Oliver: "I am under the unpleasant necessity of informing you of the total destruction by fire of my history of Delaware county I shall leave for Philadelphia in the morning to ascertain the exact state of affairs. If nothing less can be done, I shall set myself hard at work to re-write it. As you know, I am not in the habit of backing out of what I undertake, and shall write night and day until it is completed."

This was in April, 1856. By September of that year, the book was issued from the press, and as it had to be re-written mainly from memory, and to be done in addition to his other work, we may be sure it was, literally, written "by night and day." This is but an instance of his indomitable perseverance in carrying through whatever he undertook. Of the book itself it may be said that it did credit to its youthful writer, and, as it contained a great deal of information, gleaned from old inhabitants, which is fast being forgotten, it is to be regretted that it was allowed to run out of print.

That same year (1856), his attention was drawn to tanning as a profitable

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business and, after some prospecting in that part of Pennsylvania just opened to development by the new Delaware, Lackawanna, and Western Railroad, he entered into partnership with Colonel Zadoc Pratt, of Prattsville, New York, who was already an experienced tanner. They purchased a large tract of forest land on the Lehigh, and soon had a tannery in full operation. It was the largest tannery in the country at that time, and, to use Jay Gould's own words, "was right in the woods, fifteen miles from any place." Very soon a thriving little town had sprung up around it, which the senior partner of the firm named "Gouldsboro," in compliment to the enterprise of his young associate. They built a plank road and organized a stage route over it, and built a school-house and post-office, Jay Gould himself serving as post-master.

In 1857 came the great financial panic, when so many firms went under. The ability and foresight of the working partner of "Pratt & Gould" managed to tide them over the crisis in safety. Later Colonel Pratt sold out his interest to his young partner and Gould, with the firm of Charles M. Leupp and Company, of New York, formed a new organization, under the name of Jay Gould and Company.

This alliance came near proving a disastrous one to Gould. The efforts of Mr. Lee, one of the members of the firm, to oust Gould from the tannery and get the business into his own control, called forth every faculty of his mind in order to circumvent them. Gould was scarcely twenty-four, while Mr. Lee was an experienced business man in New York. Perhaps he thought that the unsophisticated young man from up the State could easily be brushed aside out of his path, but the outcome proved otherwise. He found the young man equal to every move made against him. Conscious of his integrity in the transaction, which he afterwards made clear by public statement in the *Wilkes-Barre Union* and the *New York Herald* of March 23, 1860, Mr. Gould did not hesitate to use every means in his power to retain possession of his business. It came to actual blows, for Mr. Lee, by a daring strategy, had gained entrance to the tannery and assumed the ownership. But Jay Gould had endeared himself, not only to his men who worked for him, but to the country-people of the neighborhood, and when they heard of his dilemma they flocked to his aid. In a short time Mr. Lee and his hired men were routed out and Gould was left in quiet possession. Many false statements concerning this affair have been made, but as Mr. Lee's statement, as well as that of Mr. Gould, was printed in the two papers mentioned above, no one need remain in doubt who desires to know and judge for himself.

Soon after this affair Jay Gould found opportunity for investing in railroad securities. He sold out his interest in the tannery, and, borrowing all he could, bought up the control of the Rutland and Washington and the Troy and Rutland Railroads, at that time in very poor shape financially.

This was his first step in that field which ever after absorbed his life. In a short time he had made the roads so valuable, both financially and as a means

of efficient public transportation, that he was able to consolidate them with the Saratoga, White Hall, and Rensselaer Railroad. He then sold out and invested in the Erie Railroad. This was a bolder venture, for the road was considered hopelessly insolvent and he met with opposition from the leading railroad men of that day in carrying out the measures he proposed for its resuscitation. But he had carefully weighed the possibilities before entering the field, and he therefore kept firmly to his convictions, and, though unable to carry out all his plans, he, nevertheless, put the Erie upon a sound financial footing, and made it the leading railroad of New York State. Many years after he had retired from its Presidency, it was acknowledged by some of the officials of the road that it was his far-sighted policy in securing large tracts of coal fields along the route which had resulted in making the road the success it is.

And so it was with other ventures. It seems to have been his forte to take hold of enterprises on the verge of bankruptcy and to turn them into veritable mints of money. He seldom failed in an undertaking; but this was not because he was a greater favorite of fortune than others. That he had remarkable talents in this line is indisputable; but he achieved his success by dint of unremitting hard work. He was not only an able general, having a vast host at work carrying out his projects, but he put his own hand to the plough. Indeed, the details of his early days while surveying fill one with wonder that a single individual could accomplish such an amount of labor. He knew every detail of the work others were doing for him, often traveling during the night, after working all day, to reach some distant point of operation. As another has written of him: "Mr. Gould's first dollar, as well as his last million, was altogether the product of his own exertions."

Once fairly launched on the vast sea of railroad interests, at that time just emerging from the set-back of the Schuyler frauds, Jay Gould found scope for his enterprising mind. The vast mining and agricultural resources of the Continent were promising fields for development, while their magnitude was none too great for his energy. The Union Pacific, the Texas Pacific, and the Missouri Pacific, with their innumerable branches, forming the greatest railway system of the world, are the offspring of his genius in some form, while the Elevated Railroad system in New York City and the Western Union Telegraph Company both owe to him their rescue from insolvency, and their start upon the road to success.

It has not been the intention in this article to give a complete biography of Jay Gould, but only to touch upon some of the events of his career, which seem to show, especially, his personality. Every man or woman, it is true, is responsible to God for his use of the talents given him, and none may claim reward or exemption from penalty because of ancestral virtues or vices. But nevertheless it is true that the nature of our talents, and, to some extent, their quantity, depend to a potent degree on the use which our ancestors made of their abilities.

There are strong differences of opinion as to Mr. Gould's business career, and, between these extremes of view, a *via media* is probably the most direct path to the truth.

Appeal was frequently made to him for aid in tiding over a period of stress, and in many such cases he showed a spirit of generous friendliness, mingled with practical understanding of the need and of the way to help, which won the cordial esteem of those who knew the inner history of these business beneficences.

A notable instance of his well-doing in such matters was Mr. Gould's assistance to Mr. Cyrus W. Field. The latter, against Mr. Gould's advice, had bought an enormous amount of Manhattan Railway stock, and when the selling price of this dropped low in a sudden financial "scare," Mr. Field was considerably embarrassed. Mr. Gould was appealed to, and his generous response was the prompt purchase of a large amount of the stock.

Here was an act of pure friendliness in a time of need. It is borne witness to by Mr. John T. Terry, at that time of the firm of E. D. Morgan and Company, in a lengthy statement to the *New York Tribune* of December 3, 1892. He concludes: "Now what was the view taken of this transaction by the public press? We read in large print, 'Mr. Gould has ruined Mr. Field,' and other phrases just as false. This transaction not only saved the parties, but beyond question saved a panic in New York. I will only add that the decline of the stock named within a few succeeding weeks was about \$3,750,000, and yet there are probably thousands and tens of thousands of persons here and abroad who believe that Mr. Field was wronged by Mr. Gould." Mr. Gould felt keenly the wrong of this imputation by the press and public, but, with his usual reticence, he made no public denial of its injustice.

That was not the only instance of Mr. Gould's generosity. We might go on to tell of the help he extended to many business men, during the panic of May, 1884, who must otherwise have gone under but for his timely assistance; of the assistance oftentimes rendered in return for some little obligation.

In this relation Mr. Morosini, for many years confidential secretary to Mr. Gould, relates that the latter once asked him what he should do for a man out West who had been of some use to him in a railroad matter. Mr. Morosini suggested that he should buy one thousand shares of stock for him and hold it for a rise. Mr. Gould approved and ordered the purchase of one thousand shares of Denver and Rio Grande. The stock was then about 29. It was carried till it reached a high point and looked like going off, when it was sold. The profit was \$65,000, and Mr. Morosini paid that amount in sixty-five bills of \$1,000 each to the man.

Mr. Morosini kept Mr. Gould's private accounts for eighteen years. During the last year of his service he recorded \$165, under the head of "Beneficence." To Mr. Gould these transactions were "loans," which "I shall not see again."

When the city of Memphis lay prostrate under the scourge of yellow fever

in 1879, Mr. Gould telegraphed \$5,000 to the Howard Association as soon as he knew of the distress, authorizing the Association to draw on him for as much more if needed, with the proviso that his name was not to appear in the transaction. But it leaked out at the time of his death, when the Memphis papers gave a grateful tribute of their remembrance of the deed. His death at the comparatively early age of fifty-six, cut short many plans which he had in mind for the use of his wealth in beneficent purposes. In especial he had planned an institution for the city of New York, to provide free instruction in every branch of industrial training and practical business education. It was to have been on a more extensive scale than any of its kind in the world, but as no provision was made in his will for carrying it out, New York lost what would have been a crowning addition to her already great facilities for education.

Mr. Gould died at his home on Fifth Avenue, New York, December 2, 1892. For two years he had been fighting off consumption; but his body, always frail, had been weakened by years of unremitting labor, with short hours of rest, and he finally succumbed.

At the risk of being somewhat more lengthy than was intended, the following extracts from a few of the resolutions of sympathy offered at that time are quoted as showing the esteem in which Mr. Gould was held by those in closest touch with him.

"At a special meeting of the Board of Directors of the Western Union Telegraph Company of New York, Memorial offered by Mr. Samuel Sloan.

"Jay Gould died at his residence in the city of New York on Friday, December 2d, 1892, He had been a director of this Company for about twelve years and was such at the time of his death. It is fitting, therefore, that it shall place upon its record its estimate of Mr. Gould's character and services and its sorrowful sense of its great loss in his death.

"Familiarity with him, acquired through years of constant intercourse, enables the members of its directory to speak concerning him with knowledge and confidence. What follows are words, not of eulogy, but of just and considerate estimate.

"Among the many eminent men who in the history of the Company have had a place in its counsels, Mr. Gould was in some respects the most remarkable. The intellectual qualities to which he owed his almost unexampled success are not far to seek. Underlying all was his faith in the continued growth, advancement, and prosperity of our country. He forecasted the future with confidence, and saw in their earlier stages the value of such properties as the Union Pacific, Kansas Pacific, Missouri Pacific, Manhattan Railway and Western Union. He boldly risked all on the soundness of his judgment.

"Acquiring these properties, he gave his energies to their development. This was not the hasty work of a day, but the slow work of years. He was at home in every department of the service. He knew his properties intimately.

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He could instantly detect anything wrong. He inspected them regularly. He gave to his properties the benefit not only of his genius but of his diligence and industry, which, until his health gave way, never tired. He did not always receive the praise to which he was entitled. He did not invest his wealth in lands or buildings or governments or established securities, and content himself with idly receiving their income. His industries gave daily employment to more than one hundred thousand men, and support to their families. His enterprise contributed more largely to the opening and development of the Western and Southwestern parts of our country than that of any other man.

"At his death probably no man in the United States possessed more power. His word was law throughout the vast interests in his control, established in many States and Territories—almost from ocean to ocean. But with all this he ever bore himself modestly, without ostentation or vulgar display of wealth or power. He was a model of parental and domestic virtue.

"But the members of this body desire to record their knowledge of the warmth and steadiness of Mr. Gould's friendships, of his noble impulses and disinterested and generous deeds, some of which, without murmur or complaint from him, were popularly distorted so as to become a matter of blame instead of praise.

"Resolved, That in the death of a counsellor so wise, sagacious and faithful as Mr. Gould ever proved himself to be, this Company feels it has sustained not only a deep but an irreparable loss; that it tenders its sincerest sympathy to his surviving sons and daughters; that its directors will attend his funeral in a body; that this minute be spread upon its records, and that a copy thereof suitably engrossed and authenticated, be sent to his children."

"At a special meeting of the Board of Directors of the Manhattan Elevated Railway Company.

"The President of this Company has been taken from it. Elected on the 9th day of November, 1881, to be its official head, Jay Gould has uninterruptedly, from that time to this, given to the service of this Company a large part of his thoughts and of his interest. He found the Manhattan Railway Company in the hands of receivers, substantially bankrupted, He leaves it prosperous performing an indispensable service to the public in the city of his business life."

"The general officers and heads of all departments of the Missouri Pacific and the St. Louis and Southwestern Railway Company, at a meeting adopted the following resolution on the death of Jay Gould:

"RESOLVED, That it is with the deepest regret and sorrow that we have received the sad intelligence of the death of Mr. Jay Gould. In his death we feel a personal loss. His great genius and unerring judgment have won universal admiration, while his confidence in those associated with him officially, and his acts of generosity and kindness have given him a place in the hearts of very many who will mourn for him and cherish his memory."

Mr. Ellery Anderson, who was appointed by President Cleveland to investigate the business methods of the Union Pacific Railway, and who thus had every facility to become acquainted with methods of Mr. Gould, made this remark: "One thing always impressed me, and it is interesting in connection with current statements and some popular impressions of the man. It is this: I have always found, even to the most trivial detail, that Mr. Gould lived up to the whole nature of his obligations. Of course he was always reticent and careful about what he promised, but that promise was invariably fulfilled."



Liquor Legislation in Connecticut Colony

BY
JOEL N. ENO, A. M.



THE EARLY settlers of Connecticut had no distilleries, nor for the first few years any grain, even for food, except Indian corn, bought mostly from Indian raising and through the agency of William Pynchon of Springfield for the upper or Connecticut colony; nor had they any saloons, nor for several years even an inn. During many years wine is the only intoxicating drink mentioned by name, and though there were wild grapes in some places, the colonial records suggest that all liquors were imported. More than three years after the beginning of the Court records of Connecticut colony, we find its first sentence for drinking; and it occurred on board a vessel.

"August the first, 1639. These following were censured & fined for unseasonable and immoderate drinking at the pinnace. Thomas Cornewell, 30s. Jno. Latimer, 15s. Mathew Beckwith, 10s. Samuell Kittwell, 10s. Thomas Vpson, 20s.' "Sept. the 5th, 1639, Thomas Gridley, of Windsore was compleyned of for refusing to watch, strong suspition of drunkenes, contemptuous words against the orders of Court, quarreling and striking Mr. Stiles his man; he was censured to be whipt att Hartford and bound to his good behavior." "Feb. 14th, 1643. Whereas many compleyns are brought into the Court by reason of diurs abuses that fall out by seuerall prsons that sell Wyne and strong water, as well in vessells on the Riuer as also in seuerall howses, for the preventing whereof yt is now Ordered, that no person or persons after the publisheing this Order, shall nether sell Wyne nor strong water in any place within these libertyes, without license from the perticuler Court or any two Magistrates." "June 3, 1644. Whereas many strayngers & passengers that vpon occation haue recourse to these Townes, and are strenghtened for waint of entertainment, it is now Ordered that these seuerall Townes shall pruide amongst themselves in ech Towne one sufficient inhabitnt to keepe an Ordinary, for pruision and lodgeing in some comfortable manner, that such passengers or strayngers may know where to resorte; and such inhabitants as by the seuerall Townes shall be chosen for the said searuiice shall be presented to two Magistrats, that they may be judged meet for that imployment, and this to be effected by the severall Townes within one month,

under the penalty of 40s. a month, ech month ether Towne shall neglect yt."

Next in chronological order is the New Haven act for regulating liquor selling in that colony. "16 of June, 1645. It was ordered that if any person or persons, whether directly or indirectly, in this town shall sell wine by retayle of quarts or pintes or the like, after 14 dayes next ensueing be expired, without license, he or they shall be punished at the discretion of the Court." Will Andrews licensed to draw wine and to sell by retayle."

Mr. Andrews had already been chosen keeper of the inn or "ordinary" under the following act: "To prevent much sin & inconvenience wch may grow by disorderly meetings & drinkings, it is ordered that none of or belonging to this plantation shall either directly or indirectly within their howses, cellars or other places, sell or deliver out any sort of wine or strong liquors by retayle, namely by pottes, quarts or pintes, or the like without express liscence from this court, vnder such penalty & fine as the monthly court, vpon due consideration of the miscarriage or contempt shall see cause to impose. And at present, Wm. Andrews and Georg Walker are allowed to draw & sell by retayle, but wth advice & order that they be carefull & circumspect to whom & what quantities they either delyver out or suffer to be drunck in their howses or any place where they draw or have command, that disorderliness be either prevented or observed and punished."

To return to the workings of the license system, strict as it was, in Connecticut colony. "Sept. 4; 1645. Geo. Chappell for abuseing the Constable and excesse in drinking, is to be bowned to his good behavior and to be fined fiue pownd. 5l. Will Bromfield for drunkenes and strickeing the watchman is to be bowned to his good behaviour and fyned fifty shillings." "Dec. 4th, 1645. Samuell Hales for his mysdemeanor by excesse in drinkeing is fyned twenty nobles." (The noble was equal to 6s. 8d. sterling. "Thomas Hurlebut, for the like is fyned 4l. Elias Trotte for accompanying them and drawing wyne without liberty, is fyned 40s."

"Will' Crosse, for haueing wyne sould in his howse without lycence is fyned 40s."

"June the 5th, 1646. Jo: Carpenter, for breaking into Will' Gybbons his howse & drinking wyne is fyned 10l. & stands bound to his good behavior."

"May the 25th, 1647. Order that no person vnder the age of 20 years nor any other that hath not allreddy accustomed himselfe to the use thereof shall take any Tobacco vntil he haue brought a certificat, vnder the hand of some who are approved for knowledge & skill in physicke, that it is vseful for him, and also that he hath receaved a lycence from the Court for the same. . . nor above once in the day at most. . . And for the preventing that great abuse wch is creepeing in by excesse in Wyne and strong waters, It is Ordred, that noe inhabitant in any Towne of this Jurisdiction shall continue in any common victualling howse in the same Towne wher he liveth aboue halfe an hower att a tyme in drinkeing wyne,

bear or hotte waters, neither shall any who draweth & selleth wyne suffer any to drynke any more wyne att on(e) tyme then after the proportion of three to a pynt of sacke. And it is further Ordered that noe such wyne drawer deliuer any wyne or suffer to be deliuered out of his howse to any who com for yt, vnlesse they bring a noate vnder the hand of some on(e) Mr. of some family and alowed inhabitant of that Towne, nether shall any such Ordinary keep, sell or drawe any hotte waters to any but in case of necessity, and in such moderation for quantity as they may have good grounds to conceave yt may not be abused; and shal be reddey to giue an accompte of their doings herein when they are cauled thereto, vnder censure of the Court, in case of delinquency."

"June the 3d, 1647. Tho. Newton, for his misdemeanor in the vessell cauled the Virgin, in giueing Phillipe White wyne, wn he had to much before is fyned 5l."

"March the 2d, 1647. Anthony Longdon for drunkeneses is fyned 20s."

Code of laws established by the General Court, May, 1650; article Inkeepers. "Ordered by this Courte and Authority thereof, that no person or persons licensed for common Intertainment shall suffer any to bee drunken or drinke excessively; viz: aboue halfe a pinte of wyne for one person at one time, or to continue tipling aboue the space of halfe an houre, or at vnseasonable times, or after nin of the clock at night, in or about any of their howses, on penalty of fiue shillings for euery such offence. And euery person found drunken, viz: so that hee bee thereby bereaued or dissabled in th vse of his vnderstanding, appearing in his speech or gesture, in any of the saide howses or elsewhere shall forfeit ten shillings, and for excessive drinking, three shillings fourpence; and for continuing aboue halfe an houre tipling, two shillings six pence; and for tipling at vnseasonable times, or after nine a clock at night, fiue shillings for every offence in these particulars, being lawfully convicted thereof; and for want of payment, such shall bee imprisoned vntil they pay, or be set in the stocks, one houre or more, in some open place, as the weather will permitt, not exceeding three houres at one time. If any person offend in drunkenes, excessive or long drinking, the second time they shall pay double fines. And if they fall into the same offence the third time, they shall pay treble fines. And if the parties be not able to pay their fynes, then he tha tis found drunken shall be punished by whipping to the number of ten stripes and he that offends by excessive or long drinking shall bee put into the stocks for three houres, when the weather may not hazzard his life or limbs; and if they offend the fourth time they shall bee imprisoned vntill they put in two sufficient sureties for their good behavior. Lastly it is ordered by the Authority aforesaid, that all Constables may and shall, from time to time, duly make search throughout the limmitts of their Towns. . . so oft as they shall see cause, for all offences and offenders against this law, in any the particulars thereof; And if vpon due information or Complaint of any of their Inhabitants or other credible persons, whether Taverner, Victualler, Tabler or other, they shall

refuse to make search as aforesaid or shall not to their power perform all other things belonging to their place or office of constableness, then upon complaint and due proof before any one Magistrate, within three months after such refusal or neglect, they shall be fined for every such offense ten shillings. No Inkeeper, Victualer, wine drawer or other shall deliver any Wyne, nor suffer any to be delivered out of his howse to any wch come for it, vnless they bring a noate of some one master of some familie and allowed inhabitant of that Towne" (etc.—a repetition of the last order of May 25, 1647).

On the 6th of April, 1654, another order concerning "liquors & strong water" "Ordered that it is not lawful for any persons whatsoever, male or female, one or other, within this Jurisdiction, either directly or indirectly, to sell, barter, lend, giue or otherwise, under any plea; coller or pretence whatsoever, convey to any Indyan or Indyans, smalle or greate, any strong water or liquors, sack or any other sorte of wine of any kinde, upon penalty of five pounds for a pinte, for every pinte of either wine or liquors aforesaid, & forty shillings for the least quantity; one third of the penalty to bee & belong to those that shall inform & prove any delinquency (& two thirds) to the publique treasury. It is also ordered, that whatsoever Barbados Liquors, commonly called Rum, Kill-Deuill, or the like, shall be landed in any place of this Jurisdiction, and any part thereof drawn & sould in any vessel, lying in any harbor or roade in this Commonwealth, after publication of this order, shall be all forfeited & confiscated to this Commonwealth; & it shall be lawful for any person in this Jurisdiction to make seizure thereof, two thirde parts to belong to the publique treasury & the other to the party seizing. . . and that every ancor of liquors that is landed in any place within this Jurisdiction shall pay to the publique treasury 10ss. & every butt of wine 40ss."

The last clause, concerning duty on imported liquor, was changed in 1658-59. New Haven colony passed an import act in 1655, which was included in the Code of 1656.

The foregoing act of 1654 makes the first mention of "rum." The earliest citation in Murray's great historical dictionary is but little earlier, namely, from 1651, as a word used in Barbados for the liquor made from sugarcane, and then described as "a hott, hellish and terrible liquor," twice as strong as brandy. Its alias was "rumbullion," a Devonshire word for from the same origin as "rumpus;" and also "Kill-Devil."

"Brandy" was a shortened form coming into use about this time for "brandy-wine," for Dutch brandewijn, that is burnt or distilled wine. "Brand-wine" appears in an English book in 1622.

The first distillery set up in the thirteen colonies was by Governor Kieft on Staten Island. The date is said to be 1642. Some private proposition or attempt to distil seems to have suggested the Connecticut act following. "Mch 9, 1658-59. Its ordred by this Court, that there shall not be any corne nor malt stiled into liquors, in any Plantation in this Colony."

The first brewery in the thirteen colonies was established under Peter Minuit, first governor of New Netherland, 1626-1633, on Manhattan or New Amsterdam.

The brewery did not take root in old New England, and as Skelton said of England nearly a century before the settlement of Plymouth, (1529), "The Dutchman's strong beere Was not hopt over heere." The word "brewery" is not found in Johnson's Dictionary, nor in Bailey's which succeeded it; but according to Murray's earliest citation, seems to be merely an Anglicizing of the Dutch, as follows: Hexam, Dutch Dict, 1658; Een Brouwerie, a brewerie, or a brewing-house.

The recent brewery advertisement which exploits the mention of beer on the Mayflower omits to mention that it belonged to the master of the ship, and that Bradford speaks of it as "aboard, but on shore none at all"; nor had the Pilgrims the material for making, either as to malt or hops; and as far as the advertisement implies that the "beer" was the same article advertised, it is distinctly misleading; as the following quotations from contemporary English books, one from the very year of Plymouth settlement, show. Plat, Jewel-ho, iii, 16. "It is the Hoppe onelie which make the essential difference betweene Beere and Ale." This book was published in 1594. 1620, Venner, Via Recta, ii, 36. "Ale by reason of the grossnesse of the substance of it . . . is more nourishing than Beere."

Abundant evidence shows that the genuine Old English Anglo-Saxon and Old Norse beer was simply a light-bodied ale. The word is rare in Old English except in poetry, not occurring in Chaucer or Piers Plowman; ale till later, was distinguished as being paler, being made of unroasted malt. Hops were at first imported, and about 1524 began to be grown in England. Murray's earliest citation for hop beer is 1440.

Oct. 10, 1667, the united colony, (New Haven having joined Connecticut in 1664), gave liberty to the county court to grant licences to retail liquors: none but licensed dealers to be allowed to sell liquors.

"This Court vpon the request of Mr. Wm. Rosewell, doe grant him liberty to distill Indian come to liquers, and allso to retaile liquers, from a gallon of liquers & vp wards. The like liberty is granted to Captn. Tallcott, Mr. Henry Woolcott & Mr. Jos. Willard, vpon the same limitations as is granted to Mr. Rosewell."

The enterprise was apparently not a success, for we find no farther record as to this kind of distilling; but a provisional regulation by the 1658-9 court seems to imply that it was looking out for some other distilling, probably private, by the retailers of liquor.

As the population and business of the colony increase we find more men coming in for the purpose of making money, rather than for religious and moral ends, and the fight waxes hotter. "Oct. 14, 1669. This Court takeing into consideration the great abuse that comes by the selling of wine, liquers & cider to the Indians, notwithstanding all former orders and endeauores to prevent the same.

Doe therefore now order that if any person or persons shall be accused by any Indian or Indians for selling of him or them any wine, liquers, cider or any other strong drink, and they be fowned drunck, or the liquers fowned with them, and the person accused shall refuse to purg himselfe by an oath before some Assistant or Comr (being called thereto) that he hath neither directly or indirectly, by himselfe or by any other, sold or giuen the sayd wine, cider, liquers or strong drinke he is charged with to haue sold or giuen, it shall be in the power of the Court before whome any such person is accused to impose such a fine upon him as the law requires for such a quantity as he is charged with to haue sold or given." May 12, 1670. This Court being sensible of the great abuse that comes by that liberty that hath been granted for selling of cider by retaile, doe repeal that order that grants liberty as aforesayd, and doe order that if any person or persons for the future shall retaile cider without a perticular lycense for the same, he shall forfeit fiue shillings for euery quart so sold. "Oct. 8, 1674. It is ordered by this Court that after the publication hereof, no innholder or alehouse keeper shall sell any cider, greater or less quantity, aboue fourpence a quart. And it is also ordered that no innkeeper or alehouse keeper shall retayle any liquors aboue fourpence a gill and so after that rate for greater or less quantities." "May 11, 1676. In order to the preventing of the Increase of Drunckennesse. Upon the complaynt of abuses that are groweuing upon us by the retaylor's of wines & likurs, this Court doe order that henceforth no person or persons shall retaile any less quantities than an anchor of drink at a time, without special lycense from an Assistant or Commissioner, the same not to be deliuered at seuerall times or in seuerall parcels, but at one time, except such as are allowed thereto by the County Courts, upon the penalty of twenty shilling forfeiture for euery time that any person shall be fowned legally convicted thereof, any law, custome or usage to the contrary notwithstanding. And the Court doe order and command all constables, grand jury men, to take speciall care and to make diligent search for transgressors of this order, and to make due presentment of those that shall be fowned transgressors, to the next authority. (Next-nearest.) It is also ordered by the Court and the authority thereof, that the selectmen with the constables of each town in this Colony shall be and are hereby required to take speciall care and notice of all and euery person or persons frequenting publique houses where wine, liqrs, cyder and strong beere is sold, and spending their precious time there, and thereupon to require him or them to forbear frequenting such places, and if after that any such person shall be fowned in such place and be legally convicted thereof he shall forfeit fiue shillings or sit in the stocks one hower for every such offence; and the selectmen and constables shall giue notive to the keeper of such houses of entertainment that they suffer no such noted person in any of their houses, upon penalty of twenty shillings for euery such default; all such fines to be payd to the county treasury." (Anchor, the Dutch anker, a measure of from 9 to 10½ wine gallons.)

Oct. 1694 "those who presumptuously retayle strong drink or liquors unto men whoe are poore and not able to pay for the same without great prejudice to themselves and famalyes by such irregularities, for the prevention thereof as much as may be, it is therefore enacted by this Court and the authority thereof, that after publication hereof, whatsoever person or persons shall sel or retale strong drink under the quantity of an anchor at a time in any of the plantations of this Colony without lycensse from authority according to law, they shall haue no liberty or benifit of the law to recover their debts for the same."

"May, 1695. Whereas it is fowned by experience that excessiue drincking increaseth amongst us, and that the multiplying of lycenced houses to sell strong beer, wine and liqrs, is an occasion of the growth of such disorders, for the prevention thereof this Court doth order. . . that after the publication hereof whosoever shall sell any strong drinck, wine, cyder, or beere, without any lycense, he shall pay a fine of forty shillings, the one halfe to the complayner and the other halfe to the county treasurer; and it is also ordered and hereby declared that all lycenses for retayling any sort of strong drinck are hereby called in, except such as are lycensed and accordingly doe entertaine strangers and travelers and there horses, and from henceforth whosoever shall desire a lycense he shall first obtayne liberty from the town where he lives and present it to the county court, and then if the county court approve of the same they may grant a lycense to him. It is also farther ordered by the authority aforesaid that whosoever shall receive a lycensse or hold a lycensse, he shall giue a bond of ten pounds that he will to the utmost keep rule and good order according to law so long as he acts by his lycensse, and upon the forfeiture of his bond the one halfe shall be to the complayner and the other to the county treasury."

May, 1698. "excise upon all wines, brandy, rum, and other distilled liquors, cyder and metheglin that shall be sold by retail in any town or place in this Colony;" cider excise, 12 pence a barrel; liquors, 4 pence a gallon. Oct. 1702 & May, 1703. The law revision of 1672 under titles Innkeeper and Drunkenness shall remain in full force as formerly until the other provision be made. Oct. 1703. Unlicensed houses for tippling; masters to pay fine and give bond for good behavior or be whipped, not less than ten not more than fifteen stripes for each offence, and to remain in prison till the fine be paid or the punishment executed. Further ordered, that no person who is or shall be licensed to be an innkeeper, victualler, taverner or retailer of strong drinke shall suffer any other man's sonnes, apprentices, servants or negroes to sit drinking in his or her house, or to have any manner of drinke there, without speciall order or allowance of their respective weive parents or masters on pain of forfeiting the summe of ten shillings for every such offence: neither shall any lycensed person suffer any inhabitant of such town where he dwells, or coming thither from any other towne, to sit drinking or tipling in his or her house, or any of the dependencies thereof, or to continue there above the space of one hour at one time, other then travellers.

persons upon business, or extraordinary occasion, on the penalty of ten shillings for every offence, one half to him or them that shall inform or sue, and the other half to the poor of the town where such offence shall be committed.

All licenses shall be null and void by the first day of March next ensuing." Oct. 1706. Fine for drunkenness, 10 shillings; for tippling after 9 o'clock at night, 5 shillings: the master or mistress of the family where such tippling shall be, shall forfeit the sum of forty shillings; and for want of payment, the offender to be set in the stocks not exceeding three hours nor less than one hour. All breaches of this law to be heard and determined by any assistant or justice of the peace."

May, 1712. "Licenses for keeping houses of publick entertainment shall be of force for one year and no more... No person lycenced as aforesaid shall at any time after the next session of the inferior court in each county respectively, be allowed to bring any action against any person whatsoever to recover of such person any sum or sums of money or any other thing whatsoever for any kind or quantities of drink so sold to such persons and drank in such houses."

May, 1715. Act for the better regulations of Taverns. "Be it enacted... That no person or persons dwelling in any town in this Colony, shall at any time be suffered to drink any strong drink, viz. wine, rum, cyder, metheglin or brandy, (or any mixt drink made with any of them) in any tavern or house of publick entertainment, or the appendices thereof, in the town whereto he or they belong, upon penalty of ten shillings money, for every breach of this act. And the master and mistress of such houses, who shall by themselves, their children or servants, suffer any town dweller to drink any such strong drink in or about his or her house as aforesaid, shall forfeit the sum of thirty shillings money. All breaches of this act to be tryed by one assistant or justice of the peace, and the said penalties by them inflicted upon due proof. All penalties arising upon this act to be half for the use of the poor of the town in which the offence is committed, the other half to him or them that shall complain of such offender and prosecute his or their complaint to effect, as well the constables and grand-jury men as others, and the constables and grand jury men in the respective towns are hereby required to make diligent inquiry after, and presentment of all breaches of this act. May, 1716, the following changes. "Persons selling without license shall pay five pounds for the first offence, ten for the second, and so double for every breach... It is recommende to those that keep lycenced houses to prosecute all breaches of this act... Selectmen ... shall cause the names of tavern-haunters to be posted at the doors of every tavern in the same town, by certificate forbidding every tavern keeper on the penalties contained in this act to entertain or suffer entertained such persons, or (allow them) to have drink... or pay five pounds. If the person or persons warned do not forbear, they must furnish sureties for well-behaving, or pay a fine of twenty shillings or sit in the stocks two hours."

Oct. 1719. Persons unfit having imposed upon county courts so as to obtain licenses, "Which to prevent, Be it enacted. . . That the civil authority, selectmen, constables and grand jury men in the respective towns shall in the month of January annually nominate the person or persons whom they, or the major part of them, think fit and suitable to keep a house of entertainment for the ensuing year; their names to be sent to the next county court, which court shall grant license to the said persons and no others; always taking a bond of those licensed."

Oct. 1720. Persons reputed to sell drink without license shall give bond with surety, to the value of twenty pounds that they will not sell unless acquitted by a jury of twelve lawful men of the neighborhood."

May, 1723. An inhabitant found in a tavern on the night next before or the night next after Lord's day or after nine o'clock on any other night, if arrested shall pay five shillings. Constables are required to search taverns and may break open lock or door on occasion, and command and warn any inhabitant to depart forthwith; and if refused, shall arrest such person, who upon conviction shall pay ten shillings. . . . If a constable refused to inspect public house and to perform his duty, the penalty is forty shillings for every such offence. May, 1727, fine for distilling rum or spirits from molasses three shillings per gallon, and if the quantity distilled be such that the penalty exceeds forty shillings, the offender is to be bound over to the next court; the other colonies not adopting this restriction, it was repealed in October, 1727, on account of the easy importation, which nullified the effect of the act. Various acts for excise, and for the continuance of the laws of 1719-1723, passed, in 1735, 1736, 1755, and 1763; excise to be paid by licensed tavern keepers, and retailers; retailer not to sell less than one quart, and not to suffer liquor to be drunk in his house; retailer's bond made 20 pounds in 1756; in 1759 and 1769, drawback allowed to importer who had paid excise, if he carried liquor on which he paid excise, out of the colony again.

Act of the State, Dec. 1776, continues the acts of 1719-1723; as to nomination of licensees by town officers. etc.





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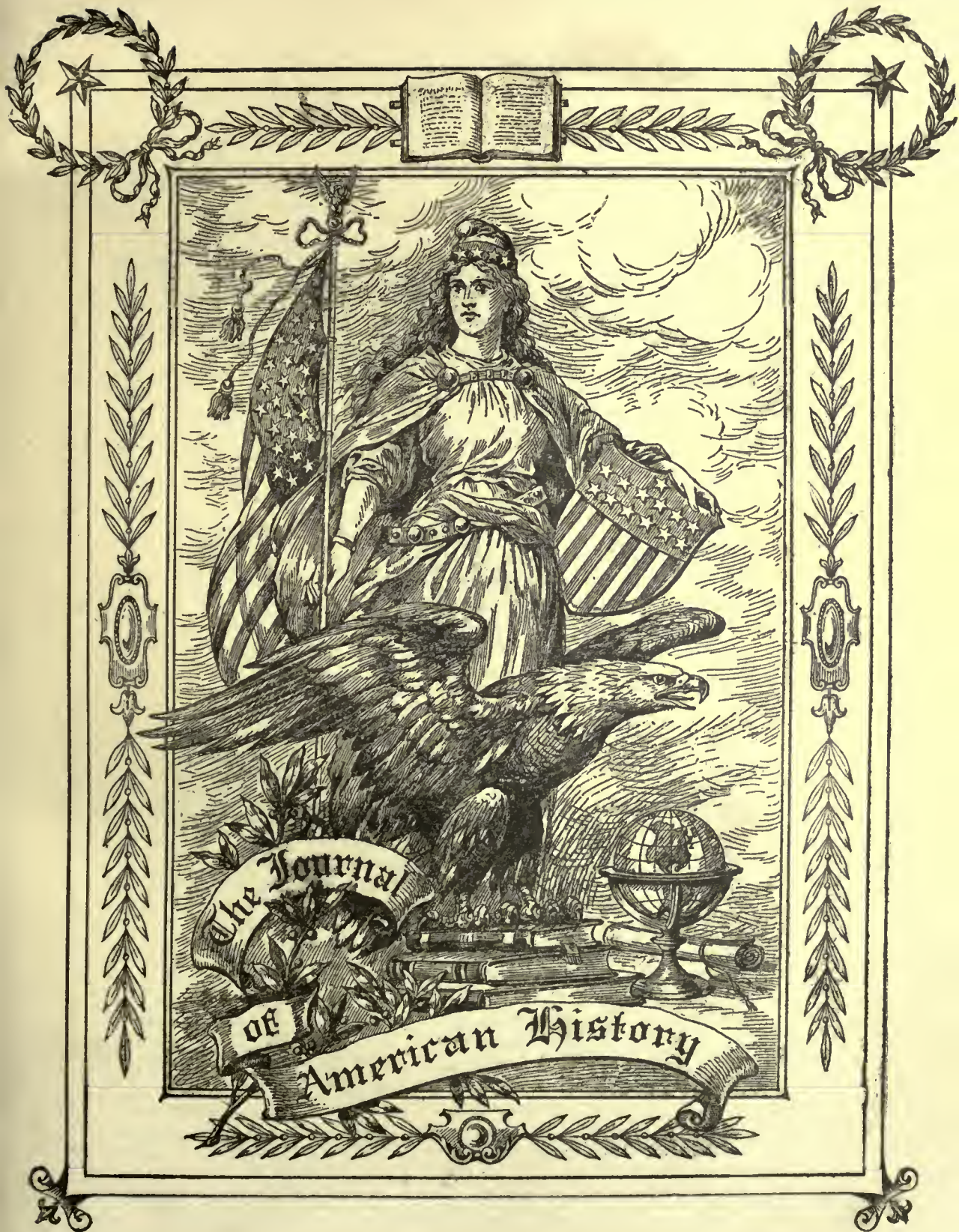
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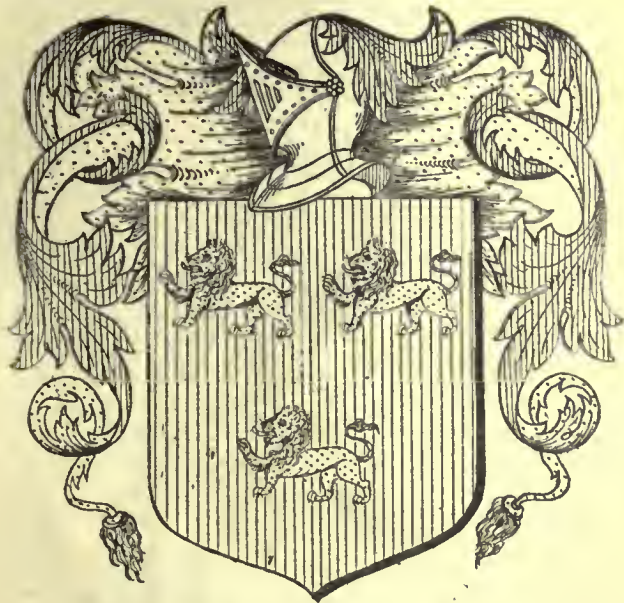
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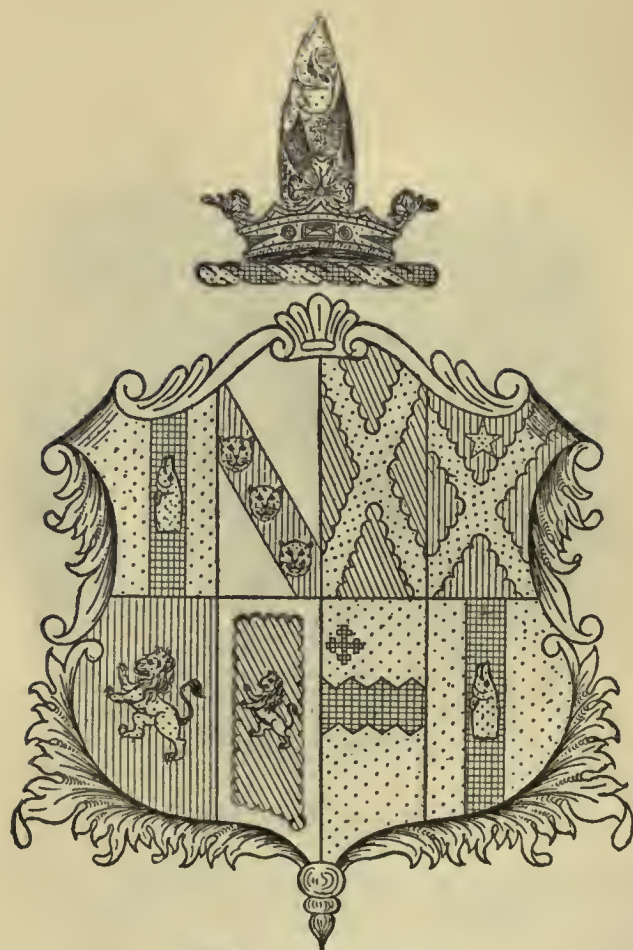
COAT-OF-ARMS OF THE SANDONS

Seated in Lincolnshire, England, in the Sixteenth Century, and
ancestors of many American families



Plantagenet

COAT-ARMOR OF THE FAMILY THAT RULED ENGLAND
BEFORE THE TUDORS, AND FROM WHOM MANY
AMERICANS RIGHTFULLY TRACE DESCENT



Gascoigne

ARMS OF GASCOIGNE, QUARTERED WITH BOLTON, FRANKE,
CLITHEROW, GRACE, HEYTON



THE OLD TOWN HOUSE



INDIA POINT FROM FORT HILL

The Journal of American History

VOLUME VII
NINETEEN THIRTEEN



NUMBER II
SECOND QUARTER

The Providence Pictures

Descriptive Notes on the Water-Colors, Written By the Artist, Edward Lewis Peckham, and by His Nephew, Stephen Far-
num Peckham, Through Whom These Views of Providence
Before 1850 Have Been Secured for Permanent Pictorial
Record in The Journal of American History

Color Reproductions in The Journal of American History, Volume VII, Number 2

I

THE OLD TOWN HOUSE



IT STOOD on the southwest corner of College and Benefit Streets, and was torn down in 1860. The oldest inhabitant of Providence then living could not remember when its appearance had been different. It was built in 1723, as a place of worship for the Benevolent Congregational Society, which, after occupying it for that purpose for about seventy years, sold it in 1795 to the city for a Town House, and built for themselves a more pretentious edifice, which was destroyed by fire in 1814, on the site now occupied by the beautiful church on the corner of Benevolent and Benefit Streets.

If given a tongue, the old Town House could have poured forth much of the oratory that incited to the Revolution; and all the Algerine oratory of the Dorr Rebellion. It was a place of refuge for all the heterodox sects that came to Providence for a hundred years; for these, not allowed a hearing in the orthodox churches, obtained permission to set forth their doctrines in the Town House.

The site on which it stood is now occupied by the Providence County Court House, opposite the Athenaeum.

The old Town House was at one time used as the Police Office and as a place where the lower Courts were held.—*Stephen Farnum Peckham.*

II

INDIA POINT FROM FORT HILL*

This represents a part of India Point, looking south. The long, low building in the centre was used as a bowling alley, and kept by a Mr. Adams.—*Edward Lewis Peckham.*

* Note: The caption of this picture should read: "Fort Hill from India Point." This printers' error will always characterize this set of prints.—The Editor.



An Appreciation of the Providence Articles in the Journal of American History

A Letter Received From a Lady of Rhode Island Who Recalls the
Scenes and Incidents of Professor Peckham's "Providence Before 1850"
so Delightfully That He, With the Other Editors of The Journal of
American History, Have Pleasure in Presenting it to The Journal's Readers

BY

MRS. CELINDA E. FLAGG



R. STEPHEN FARNUM PECKHAM.

My Dear Sir:

It seems to me if I were an editor and had worked to help produce so interesting a magazine as the last copy of *The Journal of American History* has proved to me, and had personally written so able an article as that entitled "Providence Before 1850," I should be glad to receive a letter expressing pleasure and approbation. I hope it will not seem presumptuous that I address to you such a letter.

In the first place, I am a Rhode Island woman—more than that—I am a native of the town of Cumberland.

Although I did not see my native State before the '50s, I arrived in Cumberland during the '50s; therefore, I am quite familiar with many incidents and conditions mentioned in your paper.

I used to enjoy crossing the bridge in Providence. I remember how the cove looked to me as a child, and also the feeling of horror that would come over me when I caught a glimpse of the old State Prison.

The Arcade has the date of my father's birth and he pointed it out one day to my brother when he was a small boy, saying to him that he could thus remember the year of his birth.

My grandmother came from Falmouth to Providence for a visit. While there, I am sure she found some green and white china dishes that matched her set, and purchased them in the Arcade. The china is quite well preserved and has an honored place in my china closet at this time. I do not know the date of her visit, but I feel sure it was some years before 1850; because some time in the '40s my grandfather built a brick house on Broad Street, having moved from Falmouth, and, being a physician, was somewhat of a specialist in treating fevers and sores—especially those of a cancerous nature. Because my grandmother preferred the country, they removed later to Cumberland.

same distance, or a little more, from Worden Pond, in Kingston. Your uncle must have enjoyed the varied country scenery.

After removing to Kingston, it was my pleasure, one afternoon, to entertain an elderly lady. While looking over a few pictures she pointed with astonishment to a photograph of my grandfather and asked: "Is that Dr. Belcher?" Of course, I was agreeably surprised to learn that she had lived in Providence, and, having boarded in my grandfather's family, remembered my mother, who was a young girl at that time—but who left me many years ago. In course of conversation, she remarked that her mother used to pick berries back of the Arcade.

At one time my home was a pleasant, wooden house, on Benefit Street, next to the Door Mansion. Although a small child, I recollect one day hearing the sound of spades in the Door yard. When my father came to dinner he told my mother there was search being made for the remains of Roger Williams.

I was amused at your description of the "Ancient Clam Bake." I went down as a child, with a family party. We cooked our clams and had a delightful day. I wax eloquent, but have difficulty in finding words to express my indignation when I occasionally read published receipts for clam chowder. Your chowder is the genuine article and I exclaimed: "Well, he knows what a Rhode Island chowder is like!"

As late as when I was a young woman, on one or two mornings of each year, before light, several carriages containing people from one of the neighborhoods of the town would pass our house on their way to some point on Narragansett Bay. As the drive was long it necessitated an early start. Those were the days when people who went "to the shore" dug and cooked their own clams, and carried food if they wished; although the resorts were beginning to be well patronized.

Both my grandfathers resided in Cumberland. I, too, remember the "whale oil" lamps and candles they furnished to give us light. One day my father came with horse and carriage to bring mother and me home. He described a new lamp he had purchased in our absence. On reaching home, he lighted it—our first kerosene lamp—with a paper shade. To a little girl it was a wonderful light, far superior to our old "fluid lamps."

What fun it was then to ride in an omnibus! You will doubtless remember that a stage-coach was the only public conveyance from Providence to Cumberland before the railroad was built. As a school-girl of thirteen, I did wish that sometime I might have the coach all to myself. I had my wish one day, when the ground was frozen hard. One light passenger was not a burden for three horses who went over the road at a good pace. I hung onto the straps, choked with dust from the straw, and was lame next day. However, I had my wish and have never been sorry that the ride was mine.

I want to thank you for your article and for the pictures drawn by your gifted uncle. It has been delightful to me and brought many incidents to mind.

I used to be frightened when I heard the First Baptist bell, and that of old St. John's, ring for fire. How the old hand engines rattled past our house!

When the Grace Church chime bells were new, I remember standing with father in the upper terrace of our yard to listen to them on Sunday afternoons.

I must have already exhausted your patience and, again thanking you for the pleasure I have received through your article,

I am sincerely,

CELINDA E. FLAGG.



City of Rouseville, R.I.

KID. 21. 4. 50

A burlesque representation of a spot on the shore of Old Warwick Cove, that was called "The City of Rouseville." It was near the present "Buttonwoods," and was the place where a Club, of which the artist, Edward Lewis Peckham, was a member, went to enjoy their clambakes and chowders. The original drawing was etched on copper.



RED BRIDGE LOOKING EAST FROM UP THE RIVER
From a drawing made in pencil, March 23, 1832



SLATE ROCK AND WHATCHEER COVE FROM THE BLUFF
Sketched in pencil, March 21, 1832, from the bluff above the Rock



KETTLE POINT AND THE ARMINGTON PLACE
Drawn in pencil, May 1, 1832. The Armington Place was the home of
a well-known family of Providence.

The First Flag-Raising on an American Public School: A Study of the Old-Time District School

The Story Related in 1877 to Mrs. Fanny Shippee by Andrews Shippee, Son of Amasa and Rhoda Shippee, the Leading Spirits in the Making and Raising of the Flag. Paper Read Before the New Jersey Society of the Daughters of 1812 and Offered for Permanent Preservation in The Journal of American History

BY

ALICE DURELL STUECK

Registrar of the New Jersey Society of the Daughters of 1812



AMONG the highlands of the western part of the town of Colrain, Franklin County, Massachusetts, is a range of hills, one of which is named "Catamount Hill," so called, history tells us, on account of one of its first settlers, in 1737, having been pursued by a catamount, while driving his cows to pasture. Near the summit of this hill is a rugged rocky cave which is supposed to have been the den of these wild beasts.

This part of Colrain in 1812 was peopled by some fifty families and the largest school in the township was kept on this hill. Among the families supplying boys and girls to this school were those of Cary, Bass, Davenport, Willis, Hale, Churchill, Farnsworth, Smith, Hastings, and Shippee.

Massachusetts was then an agricultural, instead of a manufacturing State and the modern factory had not yet disturbed the social and economic life of the rural communities. The lives of these farmers were made up of simple daily duties. None of them achieved great fame, but they were of good English stock, and many of them were of gentle blood and descended from ancestors entitled to bear Coat-Armor.

It is interesting to observe how little the character of the gentlemen and gentlewomen in our New England people was affected by the pursuit for generations of humble occupations. Our ancestors, during nearly two centuries of poverty which followed the first settlement, turned their hands to the humblest ways of getting a living.

There was no collegian among these farmers of Colrain, no doctor or lawyer, and none achieved a place as statesmen; but they made good citizens, and at the time of their country's need they were found brave soldiers. Their lives were useful, honorable, and good.

There were no daily papers then, but a weekly was taken by one of the Colrain men. "He read it and read it, through and through, and some of his neighbors read it, too." They deeply felt their deficiencies so they did not undervalue an education. A frequent expression with them was: "Our children must get some learning." It was largely for this they toiled.

The Colony of Massachusetts was decidedly in advance of all the others in establishing the first district school, for it was the Pilgrims of Plymouth who set the first example, not only to our own country, but to the civilized world, of a system of free schools, at which were educated together, not by compulsion, but from mutual choice, all classes of the community.

The years after the Revolution till about 1840 form the most picturesque period in our educational history. This was pre-eminently the period of the district school. We read of summer schools (the dame school), for the advantage of younger children; and winter schools for the accommodation of those who are more advanced in age and whose labor could not be spared by their parents during the summer.

The summer schools were taught by women, and children of both sexes from three and a half to ten years attended with much older girls, as well. There was always some woman in every neighborhood who, for a small amount of money, was willing to take care of the children and teach them the rudiments. These dame schools were seldom, at first, town schools, and none of them were free at first, but by the time of which this paper treats they had been absorbed in the district school.

The employment of women in the public schools had now become general, and, as their value as teachers was recognized, came the enlarging of the educational opportunities of the girls. The early school laws did not recognize girls at all, expressly stating "The word children is to be interpreted to mean boys." There was no controversy on the subject. It seemed to have been thought unnecessary that girls should be instructed in the public schools. Nevertheless, either at the dame school or at home they nearly all learned, at least, to read and sew. But at this time most places allowed the girls to attend the town schools, where they learned to read, write and sew.

The winter school was taught by a master and it invariably began the Monday succeeding Thanksgiving Day. The big boys took turns during the term in opening and heating the school house, and the large girls alternated in sweeping out.

There was no provision for fitting teachers even for the higher places in their

THE FIRST FLAG-RAISING ON AN AMERICAN PUBLIC SCHOOL

profession and there was an utter want of uniformity in the methods. One handicap to effective teaching was the fact that it might happen no two pupils were equally advanced in their studies, and possibly did not have the same text books. The books were often much worn and defaced, for they were family heirlooms, and continued in use as long as they held together.

The old school-house at Catamount Hill is now no more, and those of similar construction have passed away. This school-house was a very important landmark and has had a notable educational history, whose influence has been far reaching. It did much to mould the lives and characters of all the old inhabitants and their descendants.

Let me describe the edifice wherein and where-about occurred the scene of the first flag-raising over a public school in the United States. For there is no history or tradition of one before this. In reply to a communication sent to the Massachusetts Historical Society, at Boston, in 1900, for information in regard to the Catamount Hill flag being the first ever raised over an American school, an answer was received, stating that there existed no record of an earlier flag-raising.

The school-house was a small, low building, rude of construction, built of unhewn logs, and containing one room. It was sometimes occupied as a dwelling house, which leads one to think it was not built later than 1701, when moving schools were devised; that is, the town voted that a school be kept for a part of the year in each of the several localities. The doorstep was of hard, unhewn rock, brought from a neighboring pasture, and the wood pile stood in the yard.

It stood on the left side of the road, a few rods southeast of Levi Davenport's barn. But we have lingered around the doorstep long enough. Let us enter, and see how the children of the District School were taught the three R's one hundred years ago. Ordinarily in these old school-houses there was a narrow entry, running across the front of the building, and just inside, next to the entrance, was the fireplace. At the same end of the room was the master's table. Against the walls on the remaining three sides of the room was built a continuous sloping shelf about three feet from the floor. Long, backless benches accompanied it, on which the older scholars sat, facing the wall while they wrote or ciphered. They rested their exercise books and slates on it. Under it, on a horizontal shelf that was somewhat narrower than the upper one, the pupils kept their books and other school belongings when not in use. A line of lower benches for the smaller children was set within the three sides formed by those of the big scholars. The number of children the school-house would hold depended on how closely they could be packed on the benches. In the middle of the room was a limited open space. Here the classes stood while reciting, at which time they were expected to faithfully "toe the crack,"—a particular crack between the floor boards, chosen for the purpose of keeping them in line.

School-houses, school-rooms, school-furniture, were all at this time at the low-

est point of inconvenience. There were no blackboards, no globes. There was not a full size map, nor illustrated picture of any sort suspended on the walls. Slates did not come into general use until about 1820, and lead pencils not for a good many years after. The pens were goose quills, and one of the school master's most essential accomplishments was the ability to make and mend these pens. Even if he were very expert in the art, the making and repairing for a large school consumed a good deal of time. Every family was its own ink manufacturer. The usual process was to gather bark of swamp maple, boil it in an iron kettle, and when it was thick add copperas. These home-made inks were often weak and pallid and dried up easily.

The paper was rough and dark. Its cost and the scarcity of money led the scholars to use it sparingly, and in the newer and poorer communities children frequently ciphered on birch bark. The paper came in foolscap size, unruled. For the copy and sum books each sheet was folded to make four leaves, or eight pages. Then enough of these folds were slipped within each other to form a book. Lastly a cover of coarse, brown wrapping paper or wall paper, and the whole was carefully sewed into shape. In preparation for writing the children ruled the paper themselves with lead plummets, which was lead melted and run into a wooden mold and then smoothed with a jack-knife. The most popular shape was that of a tomahawk. When properly finished and sharpened and drilled with a hole at one end the plummet was tied with a string of tow to the owner's ruler.

History relates that the school committee often affirmed that this school was one of the best in town and that it was taught by many of superior ability. We find these names recorded: Margaret Ross, Sarah Taft, Emeline Johnson, Prudence Dean, Polly Field.

The teachers boarded around, going from house to house, the time of their stay varying according to the number of pupils in the family. "If variety is the spice of life," then the food of these teachers must have been highly seasoned.

The usual sum paid to a school master was ten or twelve dollars a month. Women earned from four to ten dollars. Even after the middle of the Nineteenth Century the standard pay for a woman teacher in many districts was one dollar a week.

Severity was held to be a virtue in a teacher. Some parents were uneasy if the teacher was backward in applying the rod, and inferred that the children could not be learning much. An appropriate share of the chastisement was visited on the girls and the older ones were not allowed to escape justice any more than the younger ones, for it was thought that a youth of either sex who was not too old to do wrong was not too old to be punished.

The children usually played around outside for a while, before school began in the morning; but at length a sudden cry would arise, "There he is! The mas-

ter's coming!" and they would all start pell-mell for the school-room and clatter noisily into their seats, girls on one side of the room, boys on the other.

In below zero weather, however, there was no lingering in the open air, and if the lad who made the fire was not prompt the little children stood about the room crying with cold, while the big boys blew the flickering flames. Later in the morning, the fire gradually waxed hotter and hotter, until the heat was a trial to those nearest the fireplace; but at the rear of the room the atmosphere might still be frigid and the back-seat scholars would ask, "Master, may I go to the fire?" at the same time those in front were complaining, "Master, I am too hot."

The usual routine of the school day began with reading from the Scriptures by the first class. In this description of the District School at Catamount Hill the frequent and important exercise of reading must not be omitted. Advance then, ye readers of the old school-house and let us witness your performance!

We will suppose it is the first day of school. "Come and read," said the mistress to a little flaxen-headed creature of doubtful gender; for the child is in petticoats and sits on the female side, as close as possible to a guardian sister. "Come and read." It is the first time that he was ever inside a school-house, and the order is heard with a shrinking timidity; but the sister whispers an encouraging word and helps the tot down from his seat. He creeps out into the aisle and down to the teacher, biting his fingers or scratching his head to relieve the embarrassment of the novel situation.

"What is your name?" "Solomon Bass," lisps the child, scarcely above a whisper. "Put your hands down by your side, Solomon, and make a bow." The alphabetical page of the spelling book is presented, and he is asked, "What's that?" But he can not tell. He is but two years and a half old and has been sent to school to relieve his mother from trouble.

Solomon Bass has at length said "A, B, C," for the first time in his life. He has read! "That's a nice boy! Make another bow and go to your seat." He gives another jerk of his head, whirls on his heel, and trots back to his seat, meeting the congratulatory smile of his sister with a satisfied grin.

This little boy, at first so timid, in a few days becomes accustomed to the place and the exercise and in obedience to the "Speak up loud! There, that's a good boy," he soon pipes off "A-er, B-er, C-er," with a far ranging shrillness that vies even with Chanticleer himself.

Solomon went to school all the pleasant days of the first summer and most of the next before he knew all of the letters by sight. In the course of summers, how many it is not recorded, he arrived at reading "Moral Tales and Fables," by Perry. In these, beasts and birds talked like men; and strange sort of folks, called Jupiter, Mercury, and Juno, were pictured as sitting up in the clouds and talking with men and animals on earth, or as down among them, doing very

unc earthly things. To quote language in common use,—“We kind o’ believed it all to be true and we kind o’ didn’t.”

What philosophers the school-book children of that generation were is shown by the following from the longer lessons. Joseph Harris, a child of eleven years old, during his last illness gave the following advice to his sister: “Dost thou know that it is thy duty to pray to the Lord every night, to return Him thanks for preservation through the day, and to desire His protection through the night; also in the morning to return thanks to Him for relieving thee from darkness? When thou sittest down to meals, recollect how many there are that would be glad of the smallest morsel while thou hast full and plenty. Return the Almighty thanks for His bounty and be good to the poor. Mind the advice of thy uncles, aunts, cousins and friends. Love everybody, even thy enemies. Endeavor to assist thy poor, afflicted mother, who is struggling through the world with four children without a father, and her fifth going to be taken from her. Love thy little brothers and sisters, and walk in the path of truth, and the Almighty will be a father to thee.”

The principal requisites in reading, in those days, were to read fast, mind the stops and marks, and speak up loud. As for suiting the tone to the meaning, no such thing was ever dreamed of. “Speak up there and do not read like a mouse in a cheese, and mind your stops.” Such were the principal directions respecting the important art of elocution.

It ought not to be omitted that the Bible, particularly the New Testament, was the reading twice a day generally, for all the classes adequate to words of more than one syllable.

There, the class have read! But they have something else to do before they take their seats. “Shut your books,” said he who has been hearing them read. What makes the row of little countenances brighten up so suddenly? They are going to spell. The child cares nothing in his heart about the arrangement of vowels and consonants in the spelling of the word; but he does care whether he is at the head or foot of his class, whether the money prize dangles from his own neck or another’s.

At this time spelling had become a craze. Once a week the school would take sides for a spelling match. The match took up the afternoon, and the side which spelled best was declared to have won.

Spelling bees were also common recreation of the winter evenings, and from time to time neighboring districts sent their champions to contend for honors. To these evening contests came not only the day pupils but the older brothers and sisters and the rest of the community. Horace Greeley, when a tiny, white-headed youngster of five or six years, had already become a famous speller and had no equal in his district. He was always the first one chosen at the spelling matches. Sometimes he would fall asleep in his place before the eve-

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ning was over and had to be nudged by his companions when his turn came. He would instantly be alert, spell his word, and then drop to sleep again.

The winter Solomon Bass was nine years old he made another advance toward the top of the ladder, in learning to write. He wanted and pleaded to commence to learn to write, the summer before, but his father, Abraham Bass, said "that his fingers were hardly stout enough to manage a quill from his geese, but that, if he would put up with the quill of a hen, he might try." This pithy satire put an end to his teasing. Having previously had the promise of writing, Solomon made all preparations days before school began. He bought a new birch ruler, and gave the whole of his wealth, four cents, for it. To this he tied a plummet of his own running, whittling, and scraping. He hunted up an old pewter inkstand, which had come down from his great-grandfather.

Behold him now, on the first Monday in December, starting for school, with his new, clean writing book buttoned under his jacket, his inkstand in his pocket, a bundle of necessary books in one hand, and in the other his ruler and swinging plummet, which he flourished in the air and around his head till the sharpened lead made its first mark on his own face. His long, feathered goose-quill was twisted into his hat-band, like a plummy badge of the distinction to which he had arrived.

On arriving at the school house he took a seat higher up and more honorable than the one he occupied the winter before. At the proper time his writing-book which, with his quill he had handed to the master on entering, was returned to him. The master had set a copy at the top of the page. The copy was simply straight lines, but after a little practice the master changed the copy to "hooks and trammels," that is, to curved lines which received their name from the resemblance to the kitchen fireplace implements, on which pots and kettles were hung from the crane.

The handwriting of the Catamount Hill school children of that day, judging from the copybooks that have been preserved, was admirably legible and uniform,—much better than that of the young people of the present time.

During the writing hour Solomon had for some two or three years before this studied the tables, usually aloud, and had recited them in concert with others. Sometimes the tables were sung to some familiar tune—as "Yankee Doodle,"—but now Solomon was to enter upon the study which was placing him decidedly among the great boys.

Each rule in arithmetic was committed to memory and written down. The practice of setting "the sums" in a manuscript book from the teacher's own book was universal before the introduction of textbooks in arithmetic. The scholars worked on their sums until they were right. These sums were no trifles. Examples in multiplication exist having as many as fifteen figures in each factor, and in long division quintillions were divided by billions. The Connecticut

artist, Jonathan Trumbull, who spent some time at school in Boston, is said to have spent three weeks on a sum in long division.

The old-time pupils in arithmetic were required to solve problems like the following:

“When first the marriage knot was ty’d
Betwixt my wife and me,
My age was to that of my bride
As three times three to three,
But now when ten and half ten years
We man and wife have been
Her age to mine exactly bears
As eight is to sixteen.
Now tell, I pray, from what I’ve said
What were our ages when we wed?”

“Answer: Thy age when married must have been forty-five, thy wife’s fifteen.”

Besides being taught reading, writing, spelling, and arithmetic, great attention was paid to polite behavior. The scholars “made their manners.” That is, the girls dropped a courtesy and the boys bowed to the teacher when they came into the school room and when they left it. They made their manners while at play to passing strangers; and if the minister, or some other prominent person, went by they formed in line and bowed and courtesied all together. At the end of the school day the teacher would tell them that as soon as they reached home they must remember to make their manners to their parents.

Besides studying their books, the girls did regular stunts at schools of sewing and knitting, and each made an elaborate sampler, which was expected to be a household treasure ever after. The sampler was a square or oblong of coarse linen or silk, on which it was customary to stitch the alphabet in capitals and small letters, the digits, a verse of sentiment appropriate to a child-student, and the worker’s name, age, and place of abode. Not only was the sampler a thing of beauty, but the alphabet portion of it was useful for reference, to show the proper formation of the letters when clothing was to be marked. It was, in fact, this feature that made the article a “sampler.”

For a hundred years we find frequent mention of keeping schools in meeting-houses and *vice versa*. These early New England meeting-houses were never invested with the religious sanctity that is attached to a church now. They were designed not only for places of worship and school houses, but for all gatherings as the people had need.

The school-house at Catamount Hill was used as a church, as it was easy of access to all of the neighborhood. These meetings on Sunday and during the

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week at the school-house were well attended. At their close the road would be filled with people for half a mile. Although these farmers lived afar from life's busy whirl they knew of the doings of the outside world.

One hundred years ago there were two great political parties, called Federalist and Republican. The Republicans were also called Loyalists because they were loyal to our Government and strongly favored the War of 1812. It is to be remembered that Massachusetts was the first State to denounce the War, and New England was politically and financially controlled by the Federalists, so that President Madison received but little military and pecuniary assistance from the six Eastern States.

But here on the Hill the Republicans largely outnumbered the Federalists, and to show their loyalty to our Government they concluded to make and erect an American flag.

One of the leading Loyalists on the Hill was Amasa Shippee, who was a member of the State Militia. He took an active interest in the welfare of his country and said:

"We'll convert these few Tories or make them see
That we're true to our home, this land of the free.
We'll show these few Feds who boast and brag
That we'll make and raise a United States flag;
And we'll stand by this emblem through good and through ill."

Amasa Shippee's wife, Rhoda, gave the white cloth for the flag. This she wove on her own loom, and Lois, the wife of Reuben Shippee, gave the blue, which she spun, colored, and wove. Either Sophia Willis or Susan Hale gave the fifteen stripes of red. The flag used at this time had fifteen stars and fifteen stripes, and it was made at Rhoda Shippee's house. Then Sue, Lois, and Sophia went to Amasa Shippee, and he marked out the stars and they sewed them on.

While the flag was being made Amasa went down to the Pine Swamp and cut two long poles, which he spliced together. When the flag and pole were finished, one bright spring day in May, 1812, the Loyalists of the Hill assembled, with their wives and children, at "the little log school house that stood by the road."

There, without music or speeches, but in the silence of that Spring day, "Old Glory" was thrown to the breeze. What an inspiring scene they must have presented, standing around that emblem "so dear to every American heart," surrounded by those beautiful hills, which stood as silent witnesses of that patriotic deed!

Among those present, besides Amasa and Rhoda Shippee, who made the journey on horseback, were Reuben Shippee and his wife, Lois, Alden Willis and his wife, Stephen Hale and his wife, Nancy Barnes, Benjamin Farley, Peter

Shippee, Jonas Farnsworth, Darius Maynard, Thomas Woden, Seth Phillips, Daniel Davenport, Alvin and Artemus Churchill.

Since that time many white stars have been placed upon our flag's blue field, and today many, many millions live under the protection of its ample folds.

"Then conquer we must, when our cause it is just;
And let this be our motto, 'In God Shall We Trust!'
And the star-spangled banner in triumph shall wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave."

War was declared on England June 18, 1812, and on a bright Sunday morning in August Corporal Joel Farley, a native of Catamount Hill, rode from house to house, warning the men to meet at once at the Baptist church on the Branch, as orders had been received to make a draft of seven men for the war. Soon after they arrived at the church two guns were fired, which alarmed the congregation already assembled for divine worship.

Before the draft was made the officers ordered the musicians to play, and stated that after he gave the order, "Forward, March," all who wished to volunteer should follow the music.

Only one man responded—the hero of the flag-raising, Amasa Shippee. Six other men were drafted from the Hill—Reuben Shippee, A. Cary, Alden Willis, Artemus Churchill.

These men were ordered to be equipped and ready to start the next morning, Monday. Few, if any of them, had suitable clothes to wear, and every woman on the hill was busy that Sabbath day and all the night sewing for her own or neighbor's family. Amasa Shippee's wife had white cloth she had woven on a hand loom. She colored it and cut a suit for her husband. When about to begin sewing she found she had forgotten to color any thread or "thrums" Someone remarked that they could blacken the thread upon the dinner-pot. This suggestion was speedily followed and the pot was brought forward and the thread was drawn over it until it became sufficiently black. They sewed with busy fingers and Amasa was arrayed in his new clothes and started for camp at day-break.

After remaining several weeks in camp Amasa received an honorable discharge. He returned to his farm and continued to live there until his death, which occurred in 1826.

In closing, let us not forget that Rhoda, the wife of Amasa Shippee, was also one of the leading spirits in making and raising the flag. Mrs. Shippee was a Puritan of the old type.

At this time there was little wealth and little poverty in the country districts. There were no costly dwellings,—and no hovels. The mother of ten

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children, who spun, wove, and made all the clothes for her numerous family, besides being an admirable wife and mother, performed perfectly also all the commonest duties of a farmer's wife.

Like most girls reared in the country, Rhoda Shippee's educational opportunities were meagre, but being a diligent reader, and having a retentive memory, she acquired a large fund of useful and interesting information. The hours required to obtain this information were stolen from sleep, or its acquisition was combined with some household task which occupied the hands, but left the eyes free.

When forty years old she was left a widow, to manage the farm and rear her children. Though entirely domestic in her habits and inclinations, she found time to take a prominent part in the discussions of the questions of the day.

She was one of the many good home-makers of Catamount Hill in her day and generation and her influence for good lives even in the present. With reverence we turn the pages of the old family Bible and read in the quaint wording of that time, "Roda Shippee consort of Amassa Shippee died April 17, 1866, aged 80 years."

Let us give honor to these early patriots, who did honor to the Flag of their country and ours!





Hume



HENDRIK HUDSON

Statue by Karl Bitter at Spuyten Duyvil, New York, to commemorate the
Ter-Centenary of the discovery of the Hudson River



THE ARTILLERY GROUP IN THE NATIONAL MONUMENT TO GENERAL GRANT, ERECTED BY THE UNITED STATES AT WASHINGTON
The design of Henry Merwin Sirady for this colossal memorial, of which the Artillery Group is only one feature, was chosen from those submitted by thirty-four American sculptors.



THE GRANT MONUMENT BY HENRY MERWON SHRADY
Reverse side of the Artillery Group



A SOLDIER OF THE ARTILLERY
From the National Monument to General Grant

A Great American Sculptor: Henry Merwin Shrady

BY

MRS. BENJAMIN S. CHURCH



THE NAME of Henry Merwin Shrady conspicuously heads the list of a new company of artists destined to open up a direct path to high achievement.

Simplicity of method is apt to characterize the strong thinker. In this instance, sheer force of inherent power has pushed him to the fore without any art curriculum of preparatory study according to accepted ideas. With long strides, apparently quite unconscious of the hold schools of art have upon the popular mind, Shrady has marched straight ahead, guided by the light of his own intelligence. True, circumstances favored the bent of his genius.

Only a few years back he was following the line marked out for Columbia College, where he graduated and subsequently went through the Law Course in preparation for a legal profession. Before beginning to practice he had a serious illness. It changed the current of life, and he found himself in a mercantile position, with less exacting duties. Then it was that the inner tendencies of the man began to manifest themselves.

On his way to and from his home, for he was now married, his favorite spot was a fancier's where dogs and cats were sold. Irresistibly at work every spare moment, he studied them, drawing and sketching them in all imaginable moods and tempers. Holidays found him at the Zoological Gardens of the Bronx, where he was chiefly interested in the moose and buffalo. He drew them again and again, studying them anatomically until he grew familiar with their every action.

His father, Dr. George F. Shrady, one of General Grant's physicians in his final illness, was an accomplished man. He had modeled for his own amusement, and it may be that from him had been inherited the bent to turn the son towards art.

The mercantile house with which Henry Merwin Shrady was associated at this time came to an end, and he found himself facing a dilemma of what to do. As he talked over the situation with his brave-spirited young wife, he said, in a half questioning way: "I feel as if I might be able to do something in art." She responded with a cheery, hopeful "Why not try? By all means, try!" "But what shall I do? Paint?" he asked. "Yes, paint a dog," was the answer. They had a

pet terrier at hand, but Shrady hesitated. "It would not be interesting," he said, "There ought to be a mouse."

Nothing daunted, resourceful Mrs. Shrady, avowing her entire willingness "to live in two back rooms, if necessary," sallied forth to evolve the mouse. Soon a friend, a lady, was found who promised the sculptor "should have all the mouse studies he wanted."

The next morning a messenger arrived, bearing a dainty box, which apparently contained bonbons, and was decked with ribbons. The young wife queried gravely for a moment, half startled in wonder as to who was sending her husband such a gift. But there lay the mouse in a nest of cotton, and soon the colors which Shrady had taught himself to use were being spread on the canvas. He had never had a lesson in drawing or painting, but he had studied colors and knew how to use a brush.

The picture grew apace and was soon finished. His wife without his knowledge carried it to the National Academy. An opportune exhibition was at hand. It was accepted and hung, and was sold for fifty dollars. A study of kittens followed which was also hung at the Academy, and this brought a fair price.

He then took up modeling, using sketches and working from memory. From his saddle horse he modeled artillery going into battle. There was life and action in the group. It caught the eye of a friend of his father, an old war correspondent, Mr. Southworth, since dead. He persuaded Shrady to finish the group, and then had it photographed and published. A New York dealer in Russian bronzes saw the engraving. He asked Shrady to add two horses to the battery and suggested that he should devote himself to modeling statuettes, for which there would be a ready market. Two small bronzes soon sprang into life, one a moose, the other a bison.

These were the outcome of the sketches at the Zoological Gardens. They attracted the attention of Carl Bitter, the sculptor, and Mr. Shrady was asked to enlarge the moose to nine feet in height, and the bison to eight feet, for the Pan-American Exhibition at Buffalo. Mr. Bitter offered part of his studio in Weehawken and there, within six weeks, the task was accomplished. Familiarity with his subjects had resulted in such accurate knowledge of proportion, that Shrady needed no models. The completed designs were duplicated by the glue mold process, and eight of the colossal figures were set upon the bridges spanning the canals in the Exhibition Grounds.

About this time a member of the Committee in charge of the competition for an equestrian statue of Washington at Valley Forge, intended for the Brooklyn end of the Williamsburg Bridge, was impressed by another of Mr. Shrady's small bronzes. Having seen in a store on Fifth Avenue "The Empty Saddle," representing a cavalry horse without its rider, quietly grazing near the battle-ground.

this gentleman called upon the young man, and asked him to enter the competition, to which five leading sculptors had already been invited.

The little bronze horse was admirable and full of quivering life. Mr. Shrady had carefully studied the anatomy of his own saddle-horse during his rides in Central Park. Once he had had a hose turned upon him in order to learn what muscles showed themselves on the surface, and they proved to be very few.

The invitation to enter the Williamsburg Bridge competition was accepted just six months before the day it was to close, and in that time he made five plaster models, two of which were submitted. Some of the competitors presented as many as five.

With an artist friend, Shrady rented a small studio in New York, on the fourth floor of a building on Twenty-fourth Street, near Sixth Avenue. The days were devoted to work, and the waning light found him still absorbed. He used no models and but few sketches, and what he did was the result of a clear mental conception and a trained memory. His hand instinctively obeyed the brain, for he was unhampered by artificial preconceptions. Such work becomes an inspiration under the guidance of a familiar vision summoned at will. It is the creative urge of the spirit in whatever line it elects to express itself.

In a recent life of Mark Twain, another so-called "genius" who had worked out his own salvation, the following passage occurs, *à propos* to the awakening of the world's intelligence to the harm the higher faculties receive from over-educational routine methods.

"How fortunate Mark Twain was in his schooling to be kept away from Institutional training, to be placed in one after another of those universities of life where the sole curriculum of life is the study of the native inclinations and activities of mankind." Not that systematic training can be dispensed with. It is the overdoing, the harmful years of meaningless technical grind that tends to common place, stunting instead of developing the higher powers of the mind. A clever, up-to-date man of these latter days was asked what he considered the most desirable intellectual quality for producing results. His reply was: "The faculty of judging between the essential and the non-essential." Henry Merwin Shrady has demonstrated the aphorism through the force of native mother-wit, lighted and directed by an earnest nature of deep emotional quality. The full strength of such temperaments are apt to ripen late, and when the call comes there is no uncertain response. Quite unconsciously he has given a valuable lead away from the artificial standards of over-academic training. He has proved what can be accomplished through fidelity to the natural art instinct, when free to express its elemental impulse. The mystical term, "genius," after all resolves itself into pure mental ability, strength of purpose, and power to think and execute according to individual intelligence.

The model for the equestrian statue of Washington had life and action, and it

won the award. A postal card with few words was sent to his studio associate. It announced that his "statue had been approved."

In one of the many current mentions of the work it was truly said: "His is a thoughtful earnestness that conceives poetically and accomplishes not only by the power of genius, but also by exacting, painstaking, severe, self-criticism."

In 1901 the Government at Washington decided upon the great monument for General Grant. Enabling Acts were passed by Congress with appropriations of a quarter of a million dollars. The Commission consisted of General William M. Dodge, Senator George Peabody Wetmore, and the Honorable Elihu Root. A competition of artists was opened. Models on the scale of one inch to the foot were to be sent in, between March 1 and April 1, 1912. Thirty-four competitors' designs were submitted.

The Commission invited a jury of artists to pronounce judgment,—Augustus Saint Gaudens, Charles F. McKim, and Daniel C. French. The award was given to Henry Merwin Shrady, sculptor, working in collaboration with Edward Pearce Casey, architect.

Mr. Casey was known for his direction of the completing of the Congressional Library in Washington. He designed the great Memorial Bridge across the Potomac River in 1900, and also the imposing Connecticut Avenue Bridge over the Rock Creek Valley, in the District of Columbia, both in collaboration with eminent engineers. The memorial Continental Hall in Washington for the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, in which there were seventy competitors, was likewise his work.

The design and setting of the Grant Monument presents a unity of conceptions between Sculptor and Architect that has resulted in a simple impressiveness, which challenges not only the admiration of the present generation, but furnishes an ideal beyond any yet offered to the country in honor of a National hero. The adjustment of detail, combined with the sympathetic aim of the two workers, is most harmonious.

It was designed at first to place the monument in the grounds of the Executive Mansion, but in 1907 a change of plan decided on the foot of Capitol Hill, at the axis of the Mall, which extends straight from the Capitol to the Washington Monument on the banks of the Potomac.

Certain modifications in the original design were required for this change of locality. As detailed in the official description, it is in the form of a long, low terrace, or platform, something over five feet above the ground. It is flanked by exedras, on which are placed the central figure, and also the subsidiary figures and groups.

In the centre is the colossal, bronze statue of General Grant. On the sides of the pedestal are *bas reliefs* of Infantry troops, with set faces, marching steadily along. There are four corners of this pedestal, giving to four other corners,



THE GUIDON BEARER
A figure of the Grant Monument



GUARDIAN OF THE FLAG

A kingly lion is at each corner of the pedestal of the Grant Monument.

smaller in design, each surmounted by a colossal, recumbent lion, guarding the American Flag under his outstretched paws. On the flanking pedestals which penetrate the exedras at either end of the platform, are eight colossal candelabras in bronze. As the monument now stands, the stone work is completed, built by the Vermont Marble Company, and already becoming appreciably mellowed by time. The four lions and eight candelabras are in place. The Artillery group is also completed, and placed, but the Cavalry has yet to be cast. The panels in relief on the pedestal of the Cavalry charge are also yet to be completed. Nothing on so vast a scale has ever before been undertaken. General Grant is represented in felt hat and military cloak. Sculptors have reason to be thankful in this regard, for the regulations of the War Department. The General sits easily on his horse, without a sword, it not having been his habit ever to carry one. The sketch model represents him as looking from under the shadows of his broad brim, while his stallion, nervous and alert, lifts his head and pricks up his ears at some flare of sight or sound in the spectacle below him.

The completed statue will be about fifteen feet high, horse and man, the rider alone measuring some ten feet. To this central quiet figure everything in the monument gradually leads up, from the rush of the great galloping groups of Artillery and Cavalry at the far reach of either end of the broad terrace, heading towards the statue of General Grant, the huge crouching lions, and the crowded Infantry panels on the pedestal in the centre.

The lions have been much subdued from the first models. They are quiescent, but alert, giving a sense of life, which architectural formulas have left unimpaired in this mighty achievement of artistic genius.

It has been justly said in one of the descriptions of the groups at the ends that the sculptor seems to "have most judiciously handled the realism involved in horses and riders in violent action. The instantaneous photograph reveals movements frequently that are inartistic, therefore undesirable. The uncouthness at times of the very thing the artist seeks destroys the photographic availability and becomes a baffling factor."

Mr. Shrady, in the Grant Monument, again illustrated his intimate knowledge and anatomical familiarity with his subjects in seizing upon and arresting the happy moment which presents less stress and strain in conveying the spirit of life and motion.

The studio where Henry Merwin Shrady worked for several years was a large, high room, with a sky-light, over a stable. The studio had perhaps been a hay-loft or carriage-room, with rear windows that even when open, permitted but faint sounds of the city to penetrate. Here he began work upon the two great monuments he had undertaken. An elevator brought horses from below, and an attendant would hold the animal on a stage with railing around three sides. There were modeling stands and tools for which every sculptor has different

uses, dampened lumps of clay ready to use, plaster casts of horses' hoofs, sketches, models and reliefs, completed or unfinished, and, lying within easy reach, two books—Chauveau's "Comparative Anatomy of the Domesticated Animals," and Wagner's "Standard Horse and Stock Book."

The undertakings were not light upon which the sculptor had entered. First, he had to complete Washington's equestrian statue, and he had utilized many models—a profile of one, an eye of another, an arm of another. He purchased a skeleton of a horse, and another of a man, which he could mount upon the animal. The two monuments meant years of thought and labor, and out of the three hundred thousand dollars that he would receive for them he must pay for the pedestals and the casting into bronze.

Nothing in monumental sculpture could well be more imposing than the view in front of the great artillery horses of the Grant Monument, suddenly pulled upon their haunches, the Sergeant with his guidon arrested in forward motion, and the two leaders of the gun team still with their front hoofs in the air, desperately endeavoring to obey the sudden order. The sculptor here has evinced judicious and careful selection of natural facts and the presentation is combined with very skillful use of some of the traditional methods of impressing the eye of the spectator.

The bronze casting was executed by the Roman Bronze Works at Greenpoint, New York. It has been attended by unprecedented demands, upon purely technical requirements, from the very necessities of the case, which perforce had to dispense with many extraneous supports of which sculptors are frequently obliged to make use.

The estimate of weight as first given for the Artillery was about eighteen thousand pounds, and fifteen thousand for the Cavalry. But the actual weight far exceeded this and mounted up to twenty-eight thousand pounds. Appliances had to be invented to wield the heavy mass. The triumph that crowned the achievement might well be heralded as an epoch-making era in mechanical art as well as a sculptural and artistic triumph.

Study in the fields and roads, at races, and in every detail of possible movement, has evidently placed Mr. Shrady in close touch with the real, and thus has enabled him, as nothing else could, to link it with the ideal, in that perfect balance which is the key-note of artistic delight that cannot be disturbed even amid the turmoil of excited action. The officers of West Point gave him a special Artillery drill, so that he might realize personally what a drill for the dread reality of war actually meant. But it is not the outward seeming, it is within the inner vision of the artist that the rounded embodiment takes shape. All else are but aids and suggestions, melting and blending in the white heat of creative impulse, and thence emerging to make life more beautiful.

Benjamin Romaine's Devotion

BY

JEAN CABELL O'NEILL



EVERENCE, benevolence, respect, virtues of leisurely days, are supposedly out of key with the hurry of the wireless age when we are set on hair-triggers to get at things and to get them completed, so that we may begin all over again on another set of duties, pleasures, emotions,—what you will. Certain it is, however, that this century has and practically shows a love and veneration for dead heroes that no other period of American history can boast.

Look at the splendid demonstration a few years ago, over the dedication of the shaft commemorating the martyrs of the prison ships of the Revolutionary War, and at the splendid cortege in honor of the *Maine* victims, the like of which the Federal city that has been the theatre of many an imposing funeral train has never witnessed! With these two events of the new century, compare the shocking apathy of the long years that allowed the bones of more than eleven thousand men who most truly died for their country, not only fought and died, but died by torture, to be the sport of the elements for years, to rest in hogsheads for a decade or more, and then only 'escape a sale for taxes on the tomb so reluctantly given them, by the nobility of a private citizen.

So rapidly do events march with all of us, so crowded with worldly matters is every mind that absorbs the news of the day, that events in the very recent past grow dim and shortly are blotted out. It is a fact that, notwithstanding the fine ceremony of a few years ago at Fort Greene, in the city of Brooklyn, New York, when the prison ship victims were at last honored, when not only President Roosevelt, but the then President-Elect Taft, were part of the brilliant audience gathered below the giant shaft, the writer recently asked a dozen citizens of more than ordinary intelligence if any monument had ever been placed to mark that heroic grave at Fort Greene, and not one of them could say, or make a suggestion, as to where information regarding this could be obtained.

An appeal to the Public Library followed, and the obliging library clerks spent several hours trying to get definite information. One was certain a monument had been erected and finally suggested that the Daughters of the American Revolution might be able to give some story of it,—a pretty and, as events proved, a deserved compliment to this organization of patriotic women. The story was found there, but even "Jove nodded," for in the one story two different dates were given for the date of the ceremony.

Therefore it may be interesting to recapitulate enough of the ancient tale to recall to our memories the story of how one man's devotion saved the country the lasting disgrace of permitting its hero dead to be degraded and worse than lost.

There had been spasmodic efforts to protect the poor remnants of humanity that strewed the shores of the Wallabout for years after the erosion of the banks had uncovered their careless graves, from the time that Mr. Jackson in buying the old dock and farm of the Remsen place next the Navy Yard had gathered the sun-bleached skulls and storm-worn bones into the only receptacles he could procure,—hogsheads. It was a gigantic task, and all honor to his memory for this labor of love!

The citizens of Brooklyn wanted to take the poor bones and bury them in the God's Acre of the Dutch Reformed Church, but to this plan the man who had all the labor and expense of the grewsome task would not consent. He was a sachem of the Tammany Society and probably wished this political organization to have the honor of the patriotic task. He also may have had his own idea of consecrated ground.

However this may be Mr. Jackson gave a good plot of land, on Jackson Street next to the Brooklyn Navy Yard, for a burial site. This, in 1803, was accepted, and Tammany got together a committee which went to work with vigor. They presented a memorial to Congress, of whom much was expected, as it was a National matter thus to honor with a permanent monument the Nation's dead.

Congress failed to take action; so, again, Tammany took up the subject, and so fanned the public interest that, in April, 1808, the corner-stone of a vault, to hold the remains that for so many miserable years had been stored in hogsheads, was laid with great ceremony. Under the stimulus of popular interest, so rapidly was the work rushed that within five weeks the vault was ready for its tenants.

The thirty thousand onlookers, that thronged the line of the great procession that carried the long-necked relics to the tomb, believed that nothing so impressive had ever before been witnessed. Even the carnival features of the parade, the floats, the herald, decked in scarlet and black, with banner in gold letters announcing "Mortals avaunt, 11,500 Spirits of Martyred Braves approach the Tomb of Honor, of Glory, of Virtue," could not obscure the pathos of the thirteen gigantic coffins, with their escort of an hundred and four veterans of the ancient war. The embarkation in draped barges, the long, drifting line, stretching across the East River, the distinguished personages of the National and civic governments, the Orders of the Cincinnati and Columbus or Tammany,—the latter in thirteen barges surrounding the coffin allotted to the care of each "tribe" of the order,—made a picture never since witnessed in all the stirring events that have passed about the great river.

BENJAMIN ROMAINÉ'S DEVOTION

Tammany was ablaze with enthusiasm, and for a while money for a monument poured in, in pledges and cash—but the interest died as suddenly as it had sprung into being in this nine-day nation. The money collected was scattered, none seemed to know or care where, and the pledges were not called for.

The closed vault, level with the street grade, remained undecorated and unmarked, and in the course of time alteration of the grade of Jackson Street threatened its very walls, and the lot was sold for taxes. Nearly twelve thousand bodies of American heroes under the hammer!

The lot was bought by Benjamin Romaine, who had himself been a prisoner of war. He had been the secretary of the first committee that started the building of the vault. He erected a chamber above it, which he decorated, and enclosed it with an iron fence. To better safeguard it, he declared his intent to use it as his private, family vault, and, to convince all of his sincerity, he had his own coffin with a name-plate placed below among the martyr companions-in-arms.

For thirty years he kept all safe and in order, expending more than nine hundred dollars in his efforts. In all that time no offer of aid came from either the National Government or from civic authority. But when Benjamin Romaine was eighty years old practical persons began to question what would happen when he was no longer guardian of the tomb, but himself its tenant. The Legislature was petitioned to remove the bones to a better place. Romaine remonstrated and begged that the remains should not be disturbed. "Their concern is very sacred to me. It lies near my heart. I suffered with those whose bones I venerate. I fought beside them. I bled with them."

A wild young lad broke into the vault about this time, and his word picture is worth reproduction:

"Having easily gained entrance by forcing the rusty lock, I fearlessly descended into the vault and stood entranced, nearly paralyzed by a sense of awe which has never left me to this day. Standing perpendicularly, for the most part, around the vault, were thirteen gigantic coffins, bearing each a name of one of the original States. Through their interstices I could see they were crowded with bones. I knew I was standing in the midst of that noble army of martyrs whose blood had gone up as a holy sacrifice on the altar of American freedom. Resting on one case that lay prone was a vacant coffin of the usual size and bearing the name of Benjamin Romaine. It was as if some Lilliputian hoped here to lie among the giant patriots, secure if, with them, he, forgot on earth, might rise with them hereafter."

For two years more Romaine continued his guardianship, then laid down for quiet rest as he had wished, among his comrades. Immediately Congress was again appealed to, and interest in the matter rose and waned through successive years, until, in 1873, the bones were removed to the lofty summit of Fort Greene

and there interred. But the century ended, as it had begun, without mark or record to show it honored its dead host. It remained for us of to-day to see this honor done.

But is the duty all performed? Is not some lasting memorial, to tell of the devotion of the brave old Benjamin Romaine, still due? How pathetic, even after long years, is his appeal for his charges, how much of himself must have gone into the self-appointed task, and what a blot on our spotless record as a Nation, if his labor of love had not intervened!

In Romaine's last appeal for his charges, he said: "I have guarded these sacred remains with a reverence which perhaps at this day all may not appreciate or feel, for more than thirty years. They are in their right place near the Wallabout and adjoining the Navy Yard. They are my property, I have expended more than nine hundred dollars in their protection. I bequeath them to my country."

Will not that country erect some monument to his love near the spot of his long guardianship?



The Old Mine Road

BY

BURTON HIRAM ALLBEE



GOOD ROADS have become a leading subject of discussion throughout the country. America has been notably negligent about the construction and maintenance of common roads. New Jersey, a quarter of a century ago, began the movement for building a class of common roads which allowed the transportation of heavy loads. Massachusetts appointed a highway commission and appropriated a million dollars a year to be expended in the construction of State highways which eventually are to connect all the important centres in the State with Boston. Next the movement shifted to the Middle West and Illinois took up the work. Now it is wide spread and practically every State in the Union is considering the subject from its individual standpoint and basing its plans for construction on its own requirements.

The Federal Good Roads Association was organized by delegates, representing thirty-three States, who met in Washington. The avowed object is to interest the Federal Government in the encouragement of good roads construction throughout the Nation. The system to be adopted is yet to be devised, but, whatever it is, the intention is to follow something of the old Roman plan which made the roads radiate from the City of Rome to all points in the Empire. The object of the Roman Government was to thus closely connect the capital city with its remotest dependencies. Advocates of Federal assistance in this country want substantially the same system adopted here. But this feature is not so important as the fact that some organized attempt is to be made in the direction of securing Federal assistance in the construction of common roads.

The early roads of the United States were in most instances inexpressibly bad. They generally followed the Indian trails, which naturally adopted the lines of least resistance without regard to the multiplication of distances. The result of this was that miles were added between certain points when they were unnecessary. It would have been easier in many instances to cut straight through the forests than it was to follow the Indian trail around some real or fancied obstruction. Little attempt was made at grading, only the most serious depressions being filled. Instead of climbing a hill at a gradient which would make it easier for teams or pedestrians the builders more often went straight over the summit.

Those who have traveled in the older and more hilly sections of the coun-

try need not be told what the effect of this system, or lack of system, was. All through New England, for example, many roads follow today the courses laid out by the early settlers, and these are often the most difficult in the townships.

It was not for lack of good example that these early engineers built such poor roads. Those colonists who came from England were familiar with the Roman roads, which were built in Britain hundreds of years before the settlement of this country. They were good then and they are still good. Those who came from France knew similar excellent examples. The people who reached America through Holland had still further demonstration of excellent road construction. The first road built in America, which bears date prior to 1641, was constructed upon the same principle which governed road-building in England. It is in use to-day and is just as good as it was two hundred and seventy years ago.

What is known as "The Old Mine Road" extends from what is now Kingston, New York, formerly Esopus, to Minisink, New Jersey, on the Delaware River, one hundred and four miles. It was built by Sir Edmund Plowden as early as 1641. It touched the copper mines at Pahaquarry, in Warren County, New Jersey. The names of the actual road-makers were long since buried in oblivion, but, whoever they were, they did their work so well that the road remains today as good as when originally built and is an example of the value of proper construction.

This old highway was very probably finished fifty years before William Penn landed in America. It ended, as has been said, in Warren County, New Jersey, and for thirty years after Penn settled in Philadelphia he was ignorant of the existence of any settlement north of the Delaware Water Gap on that river. When his sons sent out surveyors they were astonished to find groves of apple trees growing at Shawnee which were much older than those around Philadelphia. When they asked those Minisink settlers where they sold their produce and obtained their supplies they showed Penn's astonished agents the Old Mine Road, which, they declared, was there when they arrived and over which they transported all their crops and supplies to and from Esopus. From there their produce went down the Hudson River to what was then New Amsterdam, which was just becoming known under English rule as New York.

Some called the road the "King's Highway." In some of the old records it appears as the "Queen's Highway," but more often as just the Mine Road. The road was built along the east bank of the Delaware River, passing through the Indian village of Minisink.

In the Journal of New Netherland, under date of 1641, appears this entry: "In the interior are quite high mountains, exhibiting generally strong indications of minerals." Copper in those times was an exceedingly valuable mineral. The Mine Road was clearly constructed for the purpose of reaching the copper mines

THE OLD MINE ROAD

in the western part of Warren County, New Jersey, which promised rich returns.

There are still traces of the workings. In some instances the openings are filled with heavy masonry, perhaps for the purpose of preventing further working. Who was responsible for thus sealing up these mines no records exist to show. Clearly, however, it was the intention of the original owners to return at some future date and resume operations.

In August, 1645, the West India Company, having heard that copper existed in workable deposits in that region, determined to investigate. A definite location of one or more mines was made at this time. Nothing more is heard of the road, or the development of the enterprise it was constructed to foster, until 1657, when this record appears: "On this road or way is a good and rich iron and copper mine."

In April, 1659, Directors in Holland thought it worth while to send out a surveyor to examine the region and report upon the richness of the deposits. Apparently little was done about it, however, since the records are silent as to the results.

Sir Edmund Plowden, who was the moving spirit in the construction of this road, first appears in Ireland in 1632. He petitioned King Charles I for a grant of land, including a considerable part of Long Island and a liberal section of what is now the New Jersey side of the Hudson River. The grant of Long Island was refused, but he was given forty leagues in what is now New Jersey, upon which he agreed to settle a colony of five hundred people. He was in this same patent appointed the first Governor of what is now New Jersey and Pennsylvania, of which the Dutch were the real owners.

In May, 1634, the Delaware River had been explored as far as Trenton Falls, and was named the Charles River. Robert Erskine remained in the Delaware Valley until 1641, and from there he sent marvelous accounts of the beauty and fertility of the country to his friends in England. It is quite likely that these seven years were passed above the Water Gap and along those reaches of beautiful meadows in the vicinity of Minisink Island.

In 1642, Sir Edmund Plowden personally visited his vast domain, where he issued free commissions to ships to trade in the Delaware. But commerce was obstructed by the Swedes, who had settled opposite the present site of Philadelphia and refused to allow English ships to pass up the river.

Perhaps in this sketch we are not concerned with the history of the settlement of that particular region, further than to outline what Sir Edmund Plowden attempted to do.

Records are somewhat meagre, but, so near as can be determined, he organized a company for the purpose of exploiting the riches of the region, whatever they might be. Among the rest were these copper mines which yielded a satisfactory return for the money and labor required to work them.

As noted above, the Swedes refused the passage of English ships up the Delaware River. Probably the early settlers in and around Esopus had begun the construction of the one or more roads leading back from the river. Sir Edmund, with an enterprise which would be commendable, even in these times, saw the necessity of reaching tide-water, or a navigable river, with his products. Accordingly, he sent his surveyors into the wilderness, and there they made a straight route to the Dutch settlements on the Hudson River at Esopus, which remains today a monument to their energy and far-sighted business acumen.

Political changes which followed opened the Delaware River to the passage of the English and all other ships, and rendered this road practically useless for the purpose for which it was intended. Sir Edmund's company failed and disappears entirely from the records. The Old Mine Road is their monument.

After the pioneers had pushed their advance guard over the Alleghanies, and had established settlements in the wilderness, a road was constructed which extended as far west as the present city of Columbus, Ohio. This road was the broad highway over which the settlers passed on their way to the attractive lands in the Ohio Valley. It went over the mountains through Virginia, and some of the important towns in that region were founded because of this road.

In the early days of settlement in the Mississippi Valley, when the pioneers were pushing toward the Far West, an attempt was made to secure Federal aid in making this highway continental in its extent. But the development of the railroads prevented. Politicians could see no use for good common roads after railroads appeared to care for the transportation of heavy articles as well as passengers. They overlooked the social benefits, which are always attendant upon good roads, even though they parallel great railway systems. Railroads cannot supply the benefits bestowed by good common roads.

Another road extended over the Pennsylvania mountains from Philadelphia to Pittsburg, Fort Wayne, and other important points in that Western wilderness. This, too, was a track of civilization. Over it poured a long line of settlers, the leaders in that great colonizing movement which ultimately won that portion of the Middle West from the savage.

Some men, with much foresight, felt as though Federal aid might well be extended in making this road permanent, but it was refused and the original is all but lost and forgotten.

Probably the same observation would apply in numerous other localities, but it has never been done. The numerous conferences held in recent years and the increasing agitation of the subject seem to indicate that ultimately Federal aid will be granted in the construction of good roads. If it is, the stability of the Old Mine Road may well serve as a proper sample of construction.

The Rhode Island Cavaliers

BY

L. NELSON NICHOLS



THE PROBLEM of the Rhode Island Cavaliers is a new field in historical study. At least it has the condition of unpublished memoirs and uncollected data. In one sense it is ancient history, for the real Rhode Island Cavalier has disappeared into the American amalgamation of races and ideals of the nineteenth century. Many of its records, too, were never written. They were in the hearts and minds of its gentlemen, and in the blue blood in their veins. As collectable data, the time has gone past when much can be obtained. However, the Cavalier of Rhode Island was a real and positive character in the life of the Colony and first years of the State. The evidence is too strong and the recollections of living families too certain to doubt the fact of his existence.

Let us first see the historic field in which we shall have to look for this Cavalier. Charles I came to the throne in 1625. Cavaliers and London merchants had already begun the settlement of Virginia and the Carolinas, beginning with Wocoken in 1584, but only successfully since Jamestown in 1607. By 1625 the south region was becoming well known to explorers and settlements grew rapidly.

In the North, settlements were not as far advanced. Beginning with the unsuccessful trading settlement at the Kennebec in 1607 and the successful settlement of Pilgrims at Plymouth in 1620, a Newfoundland experiment in 1621, then Cape Ann and Saco in 1623, and Albany and Manhattan in 1624, New England and New Netherland could hardly be said to have had more than a beginning when Charles I took the throne.

This reign, which lasted twenty-four years, ending in 1649, saw an extensive migration to the shores on the western side of the Atlantic, and the beginning of movements that were epoch making. Bermuda had begun settlements in 1616. In the year of Charles' accession settlements began at Barbadoes in the West Indies. The Dutch bought Manhattan the next year (1626) and established New Amsterdam. Salem, the same year, began the Massachusetts Bay Colony. In 1629 the town of New Providence in the Bahamas was settled. New Hampshire towns were begun before 1630. From 1630 to 1640 the increase of Puritans in Massachusetts was considerable. Antigua and Montserrat in the West Indies began

settlement in 1632. Maryland began in 1633; Connecticut in 1635; Rogers Williams' Providence Plantations in 1636; the Rhode Island Colony of Anne Hutchinson and Coddington in 1637; and the Swedes at New Sweden (now Wilmington, Delaware), in 1638. In 1641 there were English settlements made on the Schuylkill river and at Salem, New Jersey. In 1643 there were eighteen different languages spoken at New Amsterdam. During the '40s Virginia grew extensively, and New England added mightily in numbers by the Puritans.

Then, in 1649, the Puritans conquered England, beheaded Charles I, and started a tide of Cavalier migration to Virginia, the Barbadoes, and the Bermudas. Along the Narragansett Bay and adjacent to the Baptist Colony of Providence Plantations, that had already granted religious liberty, there fled a few Cavaliers that constituted more than half of all of the Cavaliers that went into the northern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century.

In the more southern English Colonies the ascendancy of Cromwell drove many families of opposite tendencies, some Cavaliers and some unsuccessful mercenaries. The South was not all Cavalier. Neither was New England all Puritan. The great majority of the people cared for neither principle. They were submerged, the unregenerate, the low 'caste peoples, swayed entirely by their passions, economic slaves, ignorant and vicious. Out of these, later families of some quality have arisen, but in Colonial days they were the majority in all the Colonies, in England and in all Europe.

In the Colonial South the upper classes were Cavaliers and Puritans, many of the latter, but probably more of the former. Certainly the greater power and influence in the South came from the Cavaliers. In Colonial New England the upper classes were also Cavaliers and Puritans, but with the Puritans greater in numbers and power. But the condition of the Colonies cannot be comprehended until it is understood that both Cavaliers and Puritans were in all of the Colonies, but both together outnumbered by servants, slaves, and the morally and mentally deficient constituting the lower non-Cavalier, non-Puritan classes.

In Virginia, where in a generation or two the ideals of the commonwealth became those of the dominant party, Cavalier, and in Massachusetts, where the ideals of that commonwealth became unqualifiedly Puritan, it is easy to forget that other elements existed genealogically in those Colonies. It is so simple to call Virginians Cavaliers and name every Massachusetts man a Puritan; and in a broader sense Virginia is today a great representative of what Christian democracy can do, interpreted through Cavalier ideals. Massachusetts is equally as great a representative of what Christian democracy can do interpreted through Puritan ideals.

It might occur even to the best of thinkers, if he were not well grounded upon the differences in Puritan and Cavalier philosophy, what difference it made to society and government whether a man was a Cavalier or a Puritan, outside

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of the particular point at issue in relation to Charles I. If men will rise above the brutish, slavish classes, what matters it if they decide to become Cavaliers or Puritans, or maybe even adopt some one of the philosophies of continental Europe? And why emphasize the fact that Rhode Island had Cavaliers in a much larger proportion than Massachusetts and Connecticut?

These questions cannot be answered by a sentence or two. And in reality it can be answered two ways. One way might be to say that this is the Twentieth Century. The past is gone and irreparable. Rhode Island is not the same as a century ago, America is beyond its settlement and revolutionary stages, and England has far outgrown the struggles between one kind of people and another for the mastery. The results in all these cases are composites, with much added that is entirely new. This is a popular philosophy of the day. It has emanated from the slums, breeds in commercialism, develops in socialism, and results logically in anarchism. It would forget the past, only looking to the bounding success of the present, admitting no cause but individual effort or a grasped chance to raise the person or the nation or the army or the commercial enterprise to a temporary success. This is an ancient philosophy of despair, the heathen philosophy of chance existence that existed centuries before Christianity. It is the main philosophy of the under-currents of society today, for not many are really Christianized yet.

But those who know that present social conditions have causes that run far back into the lives of persons and families that were ancestral to the men of power today, are willing to inquire into causes, respect the methods, and learning from previous errors, cut away the harmful, perpetuate the helpful, and tolerate or even enjoy the harmless detail of custom and habit.

Merrie old England was not so delightful a place after all. There were turmoils century after century. The only people of any power were a few thousand families scattered here and there over the realm. Under them were the slavish, ignorant thousands, many thousands more than their social superiors. There was no middle class except in rare localities for a century or two. A man was a gentleman or nothing. Every man with power could raise an army, and every army was a menace to his neighbor. The first excuse meant war wherein the serfs and villains were mowed down in large numbers, and a few knights and gentlemen of honor reaped rewards or death. The chivalrous life became an essential feature of that civilization. A family was honored by the deeds of daring of its heroes. Coat-Armor became a thing of pride and the label of respectability.

The Norman invasion seemed but to supplant some Saxon families by Norman ones, and added slightly to the number of gentle families. It did more, however. It increased the spirit of Christian philosophy in a country that was nominally but not seriously Christian. The Celtic Christians had understood the

philosophy of doing unto others (all others) as they should be done by. The Irish and later the Welsh, Cornish, and many of the Scotch clans had carried the new philosophy so far that the slavish masses were gradually diminishing, and the number of useful citizens and reliable leaders gradually increasing. Ethnographic and historic causes tended to prevent the rise of middle classes, and also produced the union of the Celtic churches with the great central power of Rome on the Continent. The Norman and his descendants compelled acquiescence to the one Church, and they also revived in Great Britain the philosophy that even the meanest can rise to something.

In the heathen world, in all great successful peoples, the power of the nobles was supreme, the masses were but serfs or slaves. The insistence in which the doctrine of Christ was taught to all classes of people in Great Britain after the Norman Conquest was alarming to many of the gentry. It was revolutionizing the minds of the people. It was making them uneasy. It promised them much they could never get through some of the scholars. Let the idle fools, the priests and bishops, prate. It would soon die out. The villains would be villains still. They were nothing. They could be nothing.

But this was not the talk of the better England. The country gentry, uncontaminated by the court gaiety and the crass commercialism of London trade, dominated in the end. A century would wear out a family of London imitators of court life and degrade a commercial family through sins to the brutish masses again. Only the glitter of the temptation to other country people perpetuated the so-called higher court and society circles in London.

The ideals of the country gentry—rather than court ideals—were therefore perpetuated from century to century as England's ideals. They were loyal to the Church. They believed in distinctive principle of the Christian faith. They were willing to see the principle of love to all carried out practically among their own serfs.

Norman conditions were hardly amalgamated with Saxon conditions before signs were increasing of a decided change in the living of the lower classes. More and more the centuries had been learning a little at a time of the better way of living, until in the Sixteenth Century a most unheard-of condition was growing with every decade into alarming proportions. New families were rising into prominence with such rapidity that many of the old families were startled and alarmed.

The centuries since the Norman Conquest had worked marvels among the common people. No people in history had worked such wonders upon its lowest classes as had the British gentry. Had the old families of England been less wise (or maybe more wise), there might never have developed a new social class. The new families might have been absorbed in the social body of the men who made England. But the first few generations of the new families were

not more than half civilized. This reformation that was going on in Great Britain in the two centuries before 1650 was the Puritan reformation.

The practical operations of this revival, through the diffusion of Christian ideals to the lower classes in Great Britain, added very greatly to the self-respecting population, made men out of brutes, placed reason instead of passion in authority over thousands of reformed human beings, and started hundreds of families, at first very imperfectly, but surely and safely, out of slavery to the rank, or at least to the quality, of the older English gentlemen. The imperfections of the developments of these new families are apparent to this day to any one who may study British and American social and economic life in any decade since Cromwell's time.

Crassness, grossness, and mediocrity call now the same as two centuries ago with authority on every side. Money becomes increasingly a root of evil. The principles of Christian democracy that *made* these new families and their powers possible, degenerated in many cases into a swollen autocracy of the *nouveau riche*. Christian democracy stands appalled at its own work and is often tempted to fall back into a mediaeval attitude of respectable autocracy, disdaining its own work in raising the masses. And, too, these raw, undeveloped masses turn upon those who would uplift them, accuse Christian democracy of being cruel, heartless, and autocratic; sneer at the descendants of their teachers, and presume their half-thought-out ideas to be worth the ideals that have been ingrained in families for many centuries. Not all new families learn as poorly as the average new family appears to learn. Two generations only have often stood between a hopeless brute and a family of high character and good standing. But the rule, instead of the exception, is only too apparent to all sociologists of Christendom.

But conditions are changing. The new learning, the new tolerance, and the ripening of the best of the Puritan families, have reacted for good upon the older families. Then, too, the half-growth of so many families, their greed and avarice, their temporary successes, and the startling wealth that has grown out of the new science with its new industrialism and its new gambling chances, have been awful temptations to old and new families alike.

And in 1625 Charles I took the throne. Can you imagine the social condition of England? The new families were developing a newer England on the old soil. Their radicalism and imperfect ideas did not blind them to the economic faults, the mighty faults of the English government. Reforms and reformers sprang up everywhere, each with a grain of truth and a basketful of freakish eccentricities. With the new raw families it was the grain of truth that caught, and the eccentricities were adopted as a matter of course. What mattered it how eccentric were Jack Cade, and Thomas Cartwright, the Brownist preachers and the Anabaptist communisms? All had their followings, and

all were developing more and more along eccentric lines that kept them out of sympathy with the Established Church of England, and out of sympathy with the government of England. The older English families retorted too often in bitter denunciations. Little effort was made to make over these new Englishmen into real Englishmen.

One result was inevitable. The new lands across the sea appealed to the new families. The old England was not much, sentimentally, to many of them. They were a new creation. They needed a new world. But their going in large numbers from 1630 to 1645 to Massachusetts and elsewhere along the coast did not reduce the troubles at home. Charles was finding all kinds of ways for raising taxes. The Puritans were treated with harshness. The court life became increasingly immoral. The gentry of the country for the first time in English history was sneered at by London society for its simple virtues.

Then came the radical organizer, Cromwell, the one forceful character who could unite the new elements for a temporary fusion. And the crash came on poor old England and on the great families that had brought the country up to its high state of culture. There had been a great glory in being an Englishman at the opening of the Seventeenth Century. In art, literature, shipping, the comforts of life, agriculture, theology, and learning, the British came into the reign of Charles I on the top of the wave of European culture. When the time came that the Puritans took up arms against their king in his own country, it seemed to many that the upheaval must permanently ruin great and powerful England.

In London the court and society were naturally with Charles. The criminal classes were glad to ally themselves with Cromwell hoping that a change would in some way favor their fortunes. In the counties near London that knew the real workings of the court there was a great coolness of old families and also a great enthusiasm of the Puritans. In the west and north, where England was yet the old respectable, unspoiled Britain, where London society influence was weak and the court little known, the old families rallied to the support of Charles with immense enthusiasm. In the west, too, the gentry were on better terms with the common people.

It is said that then in County Glamorgan the gentry were almost a unit for Charles and the common people always with the gentry. The west of England and South Wales held out to the last for the king. Though Charles refused them the leader they wanted and brought in the imperious Prince Rupert; though Charles begged and pleaded for more money and soldiers than reason could allow; yet the gentlemen of the west gave their lives and fortunes to the cause, to be finally defeated by the Puritans and insulted by the king's councillors. Finally they, too, revolted and would help no more.

In the despair that followed the death of Charles I and the accession of

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Cromwell many Cavaliers left England for the Colonies. This migration was mainly from 1649 to 1660. Virginia, the Carolinas and the West Indies profited much, but Rhode Island received few.

What kind of men the old Cavalier gentlemen of the west of England were is well described by Marie Trevelyn's description of the old Welsh squires now only visible "in oil-painted portraits and curious silhouettes more or less touched with age," "in ancient mansions and quaint old manor houses." "Their hunting-crops are hung up in the wainscoted halls; their spurs untarnished by rust, undimmed by dust, swing from oaken pegs; their saddles and bridles are hustled with similar rubbish in the old saddle-room; their top-boots, scarlet coats, velvet caps, white breeches, and smart waistcoats are locked up in disused wardrobes, and down in the quiet old studies, where once they were to be found, but are known no more." Some of them "were terrors in their way—so strong of lung that their voices could be heard afar off, and so sound of limb that their angry foot-stamp reverberated through the great hall, caused the dogs to start from their slumbers." They "had an individuality of their own. They punctually headed the stately family procession to church . . . in the days of high-backed pews, with railings and curtains on top of them, enclosing the occupants in a room. He (to change the pronoun) was the very quintessence of punctuality and promptitude. He was always the first to put in an appearance at church, first on the field, in a ball room, in a funeral or at a wedding. . . . He called the middle classes his 'good neighbors.' In him the poor found their best friend. . . . His purse was ever open to those who were overtaken by unexpected losses, and his study was the confessional for all classes of the community." They "lived in the hearts of the people, and were, in a manner, one of them. They were an easy-going, hospitable race of gentlemen, who seldom went away from home, and then, perhaps, only to Bristol, Bath or London. They believed in warming-pans, and mutton broth thick with sliced leeks, and elderberry wine, and night-caps, and whipped cream with a 'drop' of port or spirit in it, and cordials and ginger brandy, and the like. They supported the Church and helped Dissent and very often went to hear the eloquent 'itinerant dissenting preachers.' There was an old-fashioned gallantry, too, in the squire then, as may have been seen when he took the pretty village lass by the tips of her fingers as though she were a born lady—and assisted her over a gutter, or out of a puddle. Contact with the people never injured the dignity of the squire of that day—on the contrary, it rather enhanced it."

These are the kind of men that made up the New England Cavalier migration, centering at Newport and on the west side of the Narragansett Bay. Only a very few stayed with the Puritans in Boston or were scattered in the other settlements from the Penobscot to the Connecticut towns. I have a theory

that the influence of the gentry of Wales and the Welsh marches was predominant among the Rhode Island Cavaliers. What can be said of the Welsh gentry is equally applicable to the Rhode Island Cavalier in a greater degree than in the Southern Colonies, where London traders and friends of the court were most common.

Long before the war broke out in England, each Colony was having its troubles between parties that favored the king and those that favored the Puritans. In many cases the alignments were peculiar. The settlement at Portsmouth, Rhode Island, in 1637 and 1638 which ripened into the Rhode Island Colony was not the least peculiar of the Colonial quarrels.

Later discussions, particularly of a theological nature, have misinterpreted the causes that entered into the making of the Rhode Island Colony. The founding of the Rhode Island Colony was a very distinct thing from the founding of the Providence Plantations. Roger Williams and the men of the Providence Plantations (which was begun in 1636) were Massachusetts Puritans of a more advanced or eccentric type. As a community, the Colonial Providence was essentially Puritan, though the church organization was called Baptist.

Recall now that the present State of Rhode Island has a bay, the Narragansett, that projects up into the centre of the State nearly three-fourths of the distance to the northern boundary. The Providence Plantations were at the head of the bay.

In 1637 and 1638 another party came to the Narragansett Bay from Massachusetts and settled on Aquidneck, or Rhode Island, the largest island, and lying on the east side of the bay. The colony became established in 1638 at Portsmouth on the north end of the island. These had also been driven out of Massachusetts, but for a very different reason than Roger Williams. In the main the men of Portsmouth were a very different class of men socially, intellectually, and genealogically. Most of them were members of old families of England or Wales. Carried away by the spirit of adventure to new settlements beyond the seas, or caught in the whirlpool of growing social discontent that was sweeping over England with the rise of the new families and their Puritanism, there were young men who drifted out to the colonies whose hearts when matured were with the older families, the older England, and the king.

They were distinctly loyal. When Massachusetts reflected the policies of the Puritans at home, William Coddington and others resented the constraint of the liberties that the old England was accustomed to. The few Cavaliers threw their allegiance to the defense of a woman who was preaching opposition to the theology as believed by the leading preachers of Massachusetts. This woman, Anne Hutchinson, intensely radical in Massachusetts, and increasingly so in Rhode Island and in New York in her later years, was the centre of the movement that collected most of the young men of the older families of Eng-

land resident in Boston in 1637. It was an early skirmish of the Puritans and Cavaliers; but it was a decided Puritan victory.

Not all the Cavaliers of New England were collected together. Symonds and a few others stayed in Boston. Nichols at Stratford, Connecticut, Mason, of New Hampshire, and the few other Cavaliers back of Boston were undisturbed by the Boston furore raised by Anne Hutchinson and the Cavalier leader, William Coddington. But most of the Cavaliers then in Massachusetts were drawn into the trouble. They were expelled and founded the town of Portsmouth, on Rhode Island.

To those who have believed that the Rhode Island Colony was radically Puritan this might be considered to be an attempt to stretch a point to find Cavaliers in Rhode Island. For that reason I will step from general statements to genealogical particulars to prove the stand that is taken.

William Coddington, the leader of the Cavaliers at Boston, founder of the Rhode Island Colony (as distinct from Roger Williams' Providence Plantations), was of the old Coddingtons of Lincolnshire. He came to Massachusetts, not as a Puritan, but as an official appointed of the crown. He was a magistrate to represent the king at Salem. He opposed the Governor Winthrop's Puritan party bitterly. When the Massachusetts Colony attempted to prevent Anne Hutchinson's tirades Coddington led her defense.

Her most detested doctrines were those that struck at fundamentals in Puritan theology, that a person must be first justified by faith and then sanctified by works. Her argument was that a person in a state of grace is already sanctified, has the Holy Ghost already in his heart, and needs not worry about the outward aspect of his works. Sir Harry Vane, and some of the most prominent Boston men, believed in her doctrines.

Coddington and his followers were not so much interested in these theological doctrines as they were in showing a decided opposition to Puritanism. Even after the town of Portsmouth on Rhode Island was founded Governor Coddington was opposed by Roger Williams and John Clarke, the leading New England Baptists, and they finally drove him from power when Cromwell was ruler of England. Coddington was well known as a Royalist, and his activity for the king was particularly offensive to those who wished to unite the Rhode Island and Providence towns into one colony and join a New England Puritan confederacy. Coddington had tried to form a New England confederacy, but with religious liberty and the recognition of Rhode Island as separate from Providence.

When Charles II came to the throne Coddington's influence increased and he was again chosen Governor. To be sure, he had in the meantime joined the Society of Friends, or Quakers, but so did many of the daring spirits of the day.

In New England we find many of the champions of the king allied with the Friends, and in times of war the fighting Quaker was a common instance, in spite of his creed. In secondary affairs, in local matters, he could ally himself with the Friends.

As for Anne Hutchinson, she was intensely Puritan, intensely independent, and cared nothing for constituted authority in England or America. After Coddington and the gentlemen who had helped her in Boston had built a colony in which she could preach unmolested, she turned against them and after a few years she went on to Westchester, New York, where she was killed by the Indians.

The Coddingtons remained a prominent family in Rhode Island, where William Coddington, second, became Governor in 1683.

John Coggeshall was another of the English gentlemen who defended Anne Hutchinson in Boston and helped Coddington in founding Rhode Island, in 1638. Coggeshall was of the old family of Coggeshall, of Essex, England. Where Coddington was politically, there could also be found John Coggeshall. He was Governor in 1647, but died in office. His son, John, was Deputy Governor from 1686 to 1690.

Nicholas Easton was another of Coddington's followers. It is not so certain about his family in Great Britain. His family are claimed both for Lymington, Hertfordshire, and for Wales. His attitude in America was unquestionably with the Cavalier gentlemen. He was chosen Governor at various times. His son, Peter, married Ann, daughter of Governor Coggeshall.

William Brenton, another of Coddington's followers, was of unquestioned Cavalier connections in England, though his personal attitude in America was not shown except in his close alliance with Coddington. The Brentons were an old and wealthy family of Hammersmith, near London. He was Governor after Charles II came to the throne.

Doctor John Cranston, son of the Reverend James Cranston, a chaplain to Charles I, came to Newport and was made a freeman in 1644. He was one of Coddington's followers and known to be unusually friendly to the king's party. Cranston and William Dyer met the English Royal Commissioners at New York in 1664 to thank the king for the charter. Doctor John Cranston was chosen Governor in 1678, and his son, Samuel, was chosen Governor just twenty years later, in 1698.

Francis Brinley, who came to Newport during the Cromwellian ascendancy, was a young man of the Cavalier family of Brinley, of Datchet, in Bucks. His father, Thomas Brinley, was an auditor of the revenues under King Charles I and owner of various estates in other counties than Bucks. The family suffered reverses during the Puritan regime. Francis fled to Rhode Island, the home of religious liberty. He went back to England while Cromwell was yet

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in authority, but did not find conditions safe for him to remain there. He soon returned to America. The father, Thomas Brinley, did not come to America, and seems to have been restored to his office of auditor on the accession of Charles II., in 1660, but died the next year.

Francis Brinley, the immigrant, was in Boston the last years of his life and was buried at King's Chapel. He wrote a book on the settlements about the Narragansett Bay. Francis Brinley had but two sons. The older son, Thomas, returned to London, but his only grown son came to Roxbury, Massachusetts, at which place that branch of the family established itself. The other son of Francis Brinley, the immigrant, was William Brinley, who settled in Newport, Rhode Island, and was one of the founders of Trinity Church, Newport. But the family ceased to exist very early in Rhode Island, for this William Brinley had but one grown son, also named William, who went to Shrewsbury, New Jersey, and became the ancestor of the New Jersey Brinleys.

Henry Bull came from South Wales to Boston in 1635, was immediately involved in the troubles of Coddington, and went with him to Rhode Island in 1638. He was a Church of England man, but late in life allied himself with the Friends. For his third wife he married the widow of Governor Nicholas Easton. Bull was chosen Governor in 1685. His grandson, Henry Bull, was prominent in the Colony fifty years later, becoming the first chief justice of the Court of Common Pleas, in 1749.

Edward Wanton was supposed to have a record in the Cavalier army before coming to America, but this cannot be proven. During the Cromwellian ascendancy he came to Boston and was at that time a Church of England man. He became one of the leaders in opposition to the persecution of the Friends and soon became a Friend himself. He removed to Scituate, in the Plymouth Colony, in 1660. Three sons, William, John, and Joseph, became prominent in the Rhode Island Colony. They started as Church of England men, but all went over to the Friends. William Wanton was in the local wars, established shipyards at Portsmouth, and became Governor in 1732. His brother, John Wanton, was known as the Fighting Quaker, but why more than the other Cavalier Quakers it is hard to say. They were all heretical when it came to armed loyalty and defense of constituted authority. John Wanton became Governor in 1734. Joseph Wanton's son, Gideon, became Governor in 1745; and Governor William Wanton's son, Joseph Wanton, was the last Colonial Governor of Rhode Island. The family had been so devoted to the king that Governor Joseph remained a Loyalist throughout the Revolution and was one of the greatest of the Americans opposed to the Revolution. He died in 1780.

A family of hardly less importance in Rhode Island than the Wantons were the Gardiners. George, Robert, and Edward Gardiner were of the already famous Cavalier Gardiners of England. These three brothers were descended

from Sir Thomas Gardiner, of Collyngbyn Hall, whose brother, the Right Reverend Stephen Gardiner, was Lord Bishop of Winchester and Lord Chancellor of England.

George Gardiner, who became a resident of Newport in 1638, seems to have been the most prominent of the Gardiner immigrants. He became a large land holder in Newport and across the bay in the Narragansett country. He held many positions of civil and military importance in the colony. George Gardiner married Sarah, the daughter of Paris Slaughter, the Lord of the Manor of Upper Slaughter in Gloucestershire.

The descendants of George Gardiner have been unusually active in public life. John, the grandson of George Gardiner, became Deputy Governor in 1754 and chief justice in 1756. Sylvester and another John Gardiner were two of the most eminent men of the Narragansett country and delegates to the Continental Congress. Another Sylvester Gardiner became one of the Kennebec purchasers and his son, John, graduated at Glasgow University in 1755, studied law at the Inner Temple and was later attorney-general for the Colony of St. Christopher in the West Indies. Later he came to Massachusetts, where he was a member of the General Court until his death.

The present head of the family is our distinguished New York citizen, Colonel Asa Bird Gardiner, whose eminent services are too well known to repeat to his friends.

The Nichols family of Rhode Island belongs to the ancient family of Nichols of Glamorganshire, Wales. The family was established in Glamorgan during the Norman Conquest and was but remotely related, if at all, to the distinguished families of the same name in Essex, London, Connecticut, and Long Island.

Two of the Nichols of Glamorgan, Edmund and Thomas, were soldiers under Prince Rupert in the King's army when Cromwell besieged and took Bristol, in 1645. The Nichols brothers were engaged in shipping. The conditions were so unsatisfactory under Cromwell that they sailed for America in their own ships and made Newport, Rhode Island, their home. Their ships took rum to Africa, trading it for slaves. The slaves were taken to the West Indies and exchanged for molasses. The molasses was taken to New England and made into rum, which in turn was carried to Africa for more slaves, and so on in the triangular route.

Edmund Nichols left no children, but Thomas Nichols left children, among whom were Captain Benjamin Nichols, of the Narragansett country, who continued the shipping interests, and Jonathan Nichols, who was Deputy Governor of Rhode Island in 1727.

William Freeborn and John Albro came to Boston together in 1634. Though they were by tradition Cavaliers, the proofs are hard to find. Only two small

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facts are known to uphold the tradition, but these are sufficient. William Freeborn allied himself with Coddington and went with him to Rhode Island, in 1638. John Albro was in Rhode Island when the downfall of the Cromwellian commonwealth occurred. Albro showed his pleasure at the downfall and was in sympathy with the accession of Charles II. William Freeborn became a Friend, but the Albros remained in the Church of England. John Albro's son, Samuel, was warden at the church at Newport when it was established.

Edmund Calverly and John Rice seem to have come to America together, but when and from where it is not known, except that Calverly was in the King's army, and probably John Rice was also. They came to the Narragansett country in 1661, just after the accession of Charles II. Both Calverly and Rice and their families were in the Church of England at Narragansett. There have been many attempts to prove relationship between John Rice, of the Narragansett, and Edmund Rice, the founder of one of the most distinguished of the Massachusetts Puritan families, but the status of this Rice historical search at present would make the Puritan Rices of Hertfordshire ancestry, migrating earlier from Wales. John Rice, of Narragansett, seems to find no place in the Hertfordshire family. We prefer to consider him a Cavalier, and though the proofs are shadowy, we believe them sufficient.

There was a William Richardson who was a Cavalier, but which one of three performed the various circumstances of Cavalier attachment we cannot be certain. There were William the immigrant, William the son, and William the grandson. The son or grandson, or both, were Church of England men and one of them wrote a pamphlet in defense of the church in the Colonies and in opposition to Cromwell. The immigrant or his son was at one time a member of the Friends and buried as such in the Coddington burying ground. Most likely this was the immigrant. Either he or the son (it seems more likely the son) was one of Coddington's assistants in founding the Colony and was anti-Puritan. At any rate, the descendants of these Seventeenth Century William Richardsons are Scions of Colonial Cavaliers.

The north of England has produced many long family names ending in son. One of these is the family of Richardson. Another was represented in Rhode Island by Anne Hutchinson, or rather her husband, William Hutchinson. There is nothing to show that the Hutchinsons were a Cavalier family. Certainly Anne, the reformer, showed few traits, if any, of a lady of Cavalier family. What her husband's family may have been is another problem that, at present, we are unable to solve. There is a great suspicion that there was something more than Anne Hutchinson's ability to fight the Puritan theology that drew to her this brilliant and aggressive body of young Boston Cavaliers. Her cause became theirs in Boston, but once in Rhode Island the Cavaliers were content,

while she was all discontent. It may be that the Hutchinson men, like the Richardsons, were Cavaliers.

But if we are in doubt about Hutchinson, we are certain not only of Richardson but Wilkinson. Lawrence Wilkinson was a lieutenant in King Charles' army at Newcastle when the Cromwellians took that town. Lieutenant Wilkinson's property at Lanchester, in Durham, was sequestered by the Puritan Parliament and he fled to America, arriving here some time before 1648. His descendants have been Cavalier-like. One of his descendants, William Wilkinson, was an early librarian of Brown University.

We cannot ignore William Dyer in the list of Rhode Island Cavaliers, although it was not as a Cavalier gentleman, but rather as an ardent fighting Quaker, and enthused by Anne Hutchinson's antinomianism that drew him into the company of Cavaliers. He was a London milliner who came to Boston in 1635 and became a radical supporter of Anne Hutchinson's theology. He was clerk of the settlement at Portsmouth in 1638 and at Newport in 1639 and probably eight or ten years after that. He turned against Coddington and was captain of the Rhode Island forces upon the sea in 1653 during the threatened troubles with the Dutch.

His wife, Mary Dyer, was deeply imbued with the missionary spirit and made herself particularly obnoxious in England and Massachusetts. She courted martyrdom, and on June 1, 1660, she was hanged in Boston for being a Quaker.

With the rise of William Coddington again after the restoration of Charles II, William Dyer yet remained prominent in the colony. He was Commissioner, General Solicitor and Secretary at various times. It seems stretching a point to call him a Cavalier. It *is* stretching a point. He did some things in aid of the Cavaliers, but it was because he was anti-Puritan. His descendants have been among the most notable families of Rhode Island and their Cavalier connections in later generations are undoubted.

Another name that cannot be overlooked is that of William Aspinwall, of the Aspinwalls of Lancashire. He was one of the leaders in the defense of Anne Hutchinson of Boston, became a strong supporter of Coddington on Rhode Island, but returned to England. The Aspinwalls of America are not his descendants.

There were two of Coddington's associates who appear to have been very closely associated. It may be they came to America together. They were Philip Sherman and his son-in-law, Thomas Mumford. Philip Sherman (ancestor of the late Vice President Sherman) was from Dedham, England, and bore the Arms of the Shermans of Suffolk, a family loyal to Charles I. Philip Sherman came over in 1634 and joined with Coddington in the opposition to the Puritan policies of the Colonial officers. When they went to Rhode Island, in 1638, Philip Sherman became Secretary of the Colony under Governor Coddington.

It was Philip Sherman who wrote the clause of the agreement in the organization mentioning their colony as "Loyal" (with a capital "L") to Charles I.

The agreement began: "We, whose names are under (written do acknowledge) ourselves the Loyall sub (jects of his Majesty) King Charles." About this time it became apparent that Thomas Mumford, who married Philip Sherman's daughter, was a close friend of Sherman. Thomas Mumford was an opponent of Cromwell and was a Church of England man, though Sherman had joined the Friends.

From the strong hold that the Friends had on the sympathies of those Cavaliers it is very apparent that the membership of the Society of Friends and the members of the Church of England were on much better terms in Rhode Island than in Old England or the South. But the brand of Quakerism that Rhode Island produced had other features that were different from Quakerism in Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, the Southern Colonies, and different even than the adjacent settlements of Providence Plantations and Nantucket. The Rhode Island Friend was loyal, as a rule, to kingly authority, and was willing to take up arms in opposition to those who defied the king. The early Rhode Island Friend was on most excellent terms with the Church of England.

I have shown that some of them were of Church of England families. Undoubtedly most of them were; but it is not safe to assume in any Colony that a churchman was necessarily a Cavalier and that a dissenter was Cromwellian. That may have been nearer true in Colonies like Virginia and Maryland, but in New England there were Church of England men who cannot be listed as Cavaliers. Such were the Narragansett church families of Jeremiah Brown, Michael Phillips, Joseph Smith, Buckmaster, and Keltridge.

The Rhode Island Colony founded by Coddington was essentially a loyal Colony and it was essentially Quaker. Neither will it do to assume that every one who went into that Colony before 1660 was a Loyalist. Only those who showed by deeds of heroism and devotion that they opposed the rule of Cromwell and wished the Stuarts back on the throne can be safely classed as Cavaliers on Rhode Island. It mattered not what sect they favored. It mattered least of all in Rhode Island, where religious liberty was a foundation stone of government.

And here it is well to repeat that Roger Williams did not found the Rhode Island Colony. He founded the Providence Plantations. Roger Williams had no authority over Rhode Island when Coddington and his associates made religious liberty one of its principles. Williams, eventually a Puritan, established religious liberty at Providence in 1636. Coddington, a Cavalier, then tried it in Rhode Island, in 1638. Later, and before Roger Williams died, the two Colonies united under the name of Rhode Island and the Providence Plantations, continuing the policy of religious liberty.

This name, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, was carried into the Nineteenth Century, and the State had for most of the century two capitals, Newport and Providence. It was Rhode Island rather than Providence Plantations that developed the Narragansett country on the west side of Narragansett Bay, and here it was the Church of England established the Narragansett church that had such unusual strength for New England Episcopacy. The Narragansett settlers spread out to the west until they reached the Scotch Presbyterians of Voluntown, who had allied themselves with the Connecticut Colony.

Throughout the Narragansett country the Cavalier was pre-eminent. Loyalty to the king was so strong a sentiment that even when the Revolution came, led by that great Cavalier, Washington, the new issues could not move many of the old Narragansett families from their loyalty to the king. There were some who fought under Washington before July, 1776, when the war was against *Parliament*, but who became lukewarm after the Declaration of Independence from the king, and would fight no more.

It was this sentiment that made West Greenwich and Coventry known as Tory towns.

No reference to Rhode Island and the Revolution is complete without reference to the great General Greene, second in importance only to Washington. [The Cavaliers cannot claim the great General Greene, from the Narragansett, whose activity was so important in winning the Revolution. Neither can the Puritans claim him. Greene's ancestors of the Cromwellian era were non-combatant Quakers, taking no sides on the great issues of English politics.]

Long before 1700, the Narragansett country was settled by a group of Cavalier families. All along the west shore of the Narragansett there were large estates (quoting Alice Moore Earle), "owned by a comparatively small number of persons. Farms of five, six, even ten miles square existed. Thus the conditions of life in Colonial Narragansett were widely different from those of other New England Colonies. The establishment of and adherence to the Church of England, and the universal prevalence of African slavery, evolved a social life resembling that of the Virginian plantation rather than of the Puritan farm. It was a community of many superstitions, to which the folkcustoms of the feast-days of the English church, the evil communications of witch-seeking Puritan neighbors, the voodooism of the negro slaves, the pow-wows of the native red men, all added a share and infinite variety. It was a plantation of wealth, of vast flocks and herds, of productive soil, of great crops, of generous living; all these have vanished from the life there today."

"Twelve days of Christmas were celebrated every year with great festivities in Narragansett. The fishing and fowling and hunting of rabbits, squirrels and partridges were interlarded with dinners and parties. Weddings among the great families were frequently attended by hundreds of guests. One of the greatest

THE RHODE ISLAND CAVALIERS

as well as one of the last of these gala days was given in 1790 by Nicholas Gardiner, 'a portly, courteous gentleman of the old school,' when six hundred guests were in attendance. Esquire Gardiner, 'dressed in the rich style of former days, with a cocked hat, full bottomed white wig, snuff colored coat, and waistcoat with deep pockets, cape low so as not to disturb the wig, and at the same time display the large silver stock buckle of the plaited neck cloth of white linen cambric, small clothes, and white-topped boots, finely polished.'"

There were many families that settled around this Narragansett bay that represented the families of the older, the Loyal and Cavalier families of Great Britain. It is only from lack of evidence at hand that they are not all credited as Cavaliers. We know there were others. It is not hard to guess who some of them were.

But the proofs are lacking. As a sample of probable Cavaliers there were the Tanners. Nicholas Tanner, of Swansea, Wales, and Swansea, Massachusetts, was probably father or grandfather of the brothers, John and James Tanner, at Newport. Nicholas was probably brother or father of William, of South Kingstown, who was father of William, of North Kingstown, and maybe, also, of Thomas Tanner, of Cornwall, Connecticut. [A published conjecture that the early Tanners were Baptists and Cromwellians has no basis of evidence. As they do not appear in America until after the death of Charles I it would seem more likely they were Cavaliers.]

We have given specific cases showing how eighteen Cavalier immigrants founded families in Rhode Island. It is as certain that eighteen was not half of the number of Cavaliers who settled in Rhode Island as that Coddington rallied around him the Cavaliers of Boston, and that Coddington, the Cavalier, and not Anne Hutchinson, was the founder of the government and settlement of Rhode Island. It is certain, too, that the sentiments of the Cavalier were very strong in the Colony and State until about 1800.

It is perfectly true that the wealth, the vast flocks and herds, the productive soil, the great crops, and the generous living have vanished from the life of the Narragansett country. After the Revolution it became known to the people along the Atlantic coast that there were vast areas in the interior, west of the Catskills and the Alleghanies, that were as rich, maybe far richer, than the seashore acres, where stony hillsides and salt marshes were too common. Besides this the old Indian population was nearly extinct over vast western areas. The tales of the rich Indian fields of the Iroquois Confederacy in central and western New York that were told by returning soldiers of Sullivan's army were almost unbelieving but wonderfully alluring.

The soil of Rhode Island was not equal to that of England and South Wales, and under the old style of farming when the soil was not strengthened, it took only about a century to produce an industrial revolution. The old families would

not stay on the soil where with slaves and Indians and free negroes and white servants to support, the profits became less and less, and gradually faded away. New generations made new conditions. The negro and Indian populations were turned adrift to shift for themselves. The old plantations were sold off into small farms to those who were once servants.

Many of the new generation of old families went west and scattered, oh, so thinly, over a vast area three thousand miles long by a thousand miles wide. Others went into the towns in commerce and the professions. The growing cities of Boston, New York, and Providence needed the genius and intelligence, loyalty and devotion of the Cavalier families. In surprisingly large numbers they became urban rather than rural within the limits of a single generation.

The Rhode Island Cavalier has not changed, but he has moved. The soil which for a time perpetuated the old ideas of loyalty, and the customs of the older England, knows them no more. It is a wonderful picture in human history, this picking up of a little party of human beings by the hand of God and scattering them widely, very widely, like grain across a rich and fertile field.

The Southern Cavalier had another mission to work out. His was the working out of the peculiar and necessary problems that only the combination of Cavalier and negro, freedom and culture, loyalty to home and institutions, a warm climate and peculiar crops could produce. The value of the South in the past and present was and is of incalculable benefit to American civilization.

But the Rhode Island Cavaliers have in the same proportion been valuable, scattered though they are. The new generation of Rhode Island Cavaliers ripening into manhood in the opening years of the Twentieth Century hardly knows that it is of Cavalier stock. But it does know wherever it lives that there is inherent in its instincts a high sentiment, a regard for the things that count high in the cultured world, an intense loyalty to one's own, and a keen devotion to ideals.





HISTORIC MEMENTOES OF THE CIVIL WAR

This musket and sword bayonet were taken from the battle field of Hillsboro, Georgia, and presented to the Reverend Samuel Warner King, of the United States Christian Commission, in whose family they are now preserved

*This musket was captured by Gregg's Cavalry at Hillsboro, Ga.
and Manufactured at Fayetteville Ga. The same
bayonet however, found upon it, is of "Gardner" man-
ufacture.*

Depot Ordnance Office,
Army of the Potomac.

Dec. 23^d 1864.

Rev. Doct. S. M. King:

Dear Sir:

I enclose by

my Orderly the Ret. Rifle. please call
on my office in a day or two and I
will probably have the permit properly
indorsed, for you to take it from the
Army -

I remain Sir, Respectfully

Yours, Obedt. Servt.

E. V. Andrus

Lieut. of Ordnance

HISTORIC MEMENTOES OF THE CIVIL WAR

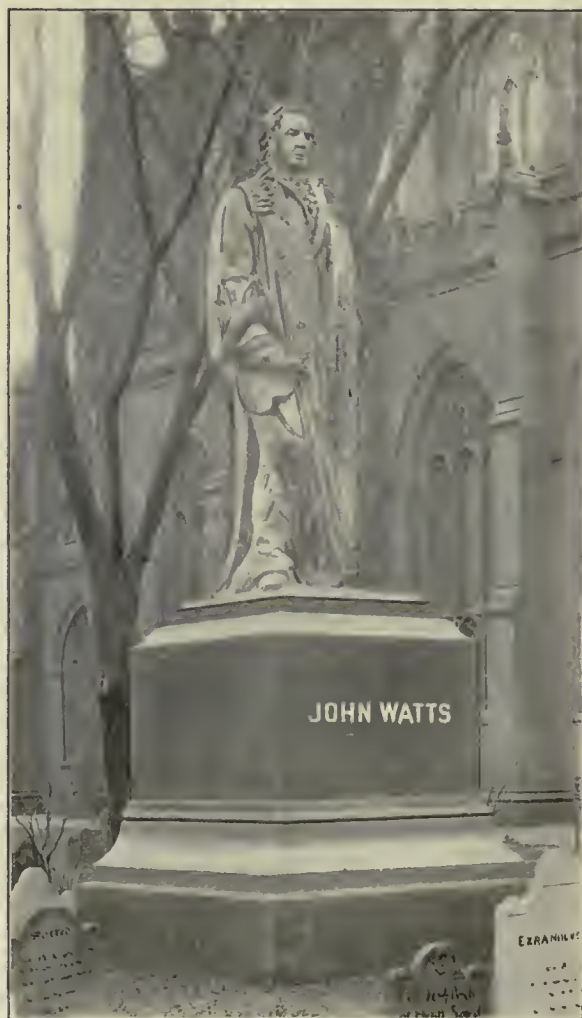
Fac-simile letter from Lieutenant Andrus to Doctor King, concerning the Confederate rifle

Head Quarters, Armies of U.S.
 City Point Va.
 Dec 26th 1864

The bearer, Dr. Samuel M. King, of the U.S.
 Christian Commission has permission to take from
 the Army the Rebel rifle mustel in his possession.

By Command of
 Lieut Gen. Grant
 S. M. Jones
 Asst Adj Gen

HISTORIC MEMENTOES OF THE CIVIL WAR
 General Grant's permit for the removal of the Confederate rifle by Doctor King



JOHN WATTS, THE LAST RECORDER OF NEW YORK CITY
UNDER THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT
Statue in Old Trinity Churchyard, New York

A Founder-Family of New Netherland and Their Ancestry in Holland

BY

CAPTAIN ALBERT HARRISON VAN DEUSEN

Author of *The Van Deursen Family*



THE Colonial life of New England and the South has long been familiar with us. But the debt this country owes to the Dutch and Flemish settlers of New Netherland is just beginning to be realized. Their staunch hardihood, their determination to have and enjoy liberty, their common sense—most uncommon in the Seventeenth Century—have woven themselves into the warp and woof of our National character.

The Van Deursens may be considered as a typical family of the Dutch Colony days, and some account, therefore, of their antecedents in Holland may be of interest to the general reader, as well as to the thousands of descendants of Abraham Pietersen Van Deursen, the founder of the American line.

The name is spelled variously,—as Van Deursen, Van Deusen, Van Duzer, Van Dusen, Van Duser, and many other forms,—but the Emigrant-Ancestor spelled his name "Van Deursen." The ancient Coat-of-Arms of the family in Holland, however, is blazoned under the name "Van Doersen."

The earliest known home of the Van Deursens is a little village of a few hundred inhabitants, in South Brabant, the Netherlands. It now bears the name of Deurne-les-Diest, but the people who live there still call it "Doersen," which was the old name.

Before the coming of the Romans under Julius Caesar the country was inhabited by a Celtic tribe, the Belges. The former name of this little village is an inheritance of the ancient race, for "Dur" means "water," and "Deursen," or "Doersen," means "a place by the water." When the Romans came, they called the wide moorland on which the village lies by their name for a moor, "palus"; and today the locality is known as the "Peel Land," while another small village, near Deursen, is "Pael."

At the beginning of the Ninth Century, the Peel Land bore the name of Taxandria, and this formed a large part of the later Duchy of Brabant.

The earliest record of a person bearing the surname is of one Hendricus à Doersne (Hendrick van Doersen), who was living in 1196.

There are a number of records of the name in the Thirteenth Century, where



THE PEEL LAND, SOUTH BRABANT, THE NETHERLANDS
 On this map is shown the village of Doorsen, the cradle-home of the Van Deursen
 family of the United States

the Lords Van Deursen appear to have maintained rule, practically as independent sovereigns, until the year 1325. On the first day of March of that year, Govert Van Doorsen swore fealty to Jan III, the Duke of Brabant.

It may be that this mediaeval ancestor of the American Van Deursens joined with Duke Jan in formulating the Charter which the latter granted to his subjects in 1356. This Charter has been called "a cornerstone in the bulwark of Dutch liberty."

Under the feudal system of land tenure, then in force throughout civilized Europe, Govert Van Doorsen at once received back his estates, as held in fief from his liege, the Duke, and these lands remained from that time in the possession of his male descendants until the close of the Sixteenth Century.

The daughter of Jan III, the Duchess Johanna, died in 1406, and at that time Jan Van Deursen was the Lord of Deursen. He married, in 1419, Aleid van Bloemensweerde. Their son, Jan, married Aleid van Dompelaer. This family was armigerous, and was allied to the Van Rensselaers and the Brincks,—both names found more than two hundred years later in New Netherland, whither had come also the descendants of this far-away Aleid, Lady of Deursen.

The next in the line was another Jan, whose wife was Wilhelmina van Zoudenbalg, and they had a son, Nicholas. He married Machteld Proeys, and they were the parents of Jan Willem Van Deursen. His wife was a daughter of Gerrit van Heusden. Through the marriage of their son, Jan, to Elizabeth van Heusden, another connection with this noble house was formed. Jan Van Deursen added to his Coat-Armor the famous "Wheel of Heusden." The origin of this charge in the Heusden Arms is, according to an old legend, as follows:

The Lord of Heusden bade farewell to his wife and went on a Crusade. A little page soon attached himself to the knight and served him with loyal devotion. One evening, the latter entered one of his tents in search of his faithful servitor, and found the little "lad" seated at a spinning-wheel, industriously spinning. It was no page, but the brave and loving Lady of Heusden, who had followed her husband to assist him on his journeyings. As token of his honor for her devotion, the knight placed in his Coat-of-Arms a spinning-wheel. The story has been told in an old Dutch ballad.

Hendrick Van Deusen, the son of Jan and Elizabeth, was born in the old Castle, which had so long been in the possession of the family. He left Deursen, however, and removed to Asperen.

When Govert van Doorsen, the first of the known direct ancestors of the American Van Deursens, swore fealty to Duke Jan III of Brabant, to which reference is made above, both Deursen and Lissel, a neighboring village, which he owned, remained in his tenure, although as fiefs held under the Duchy. Until the year 1397 the two estates were held under one ownership. At that time,

however, Deursen became the inheritance of one son of the family, and Lissel passed to his brother.

The Castle was at Deursen, and, set in the wide moors as it was, it was a stronghold of great strategic importance. During the conflicts of the Fifteenth Century between Brabant and Guelderland this was proven many times. The younger branch of the house, living at Lissel, did not have the protection which the Castle gave to the elder branch, and Hendrick van Dorsen and Gheenken van Doirsen, of the Lissel line, were, with other nobles of Brabant, complainants in April, 1435, to Philip of Burgundy (who had just succeeded to the Dukedom of Brabant), of the plundering done by the Guelderlanders.

The date of the building of the old moorland Castle is unknown, but during the lordship of Govert another Castle was built a short distance away. This was surrounded by a wide moat, and the beauty of its gardens has been recorded.

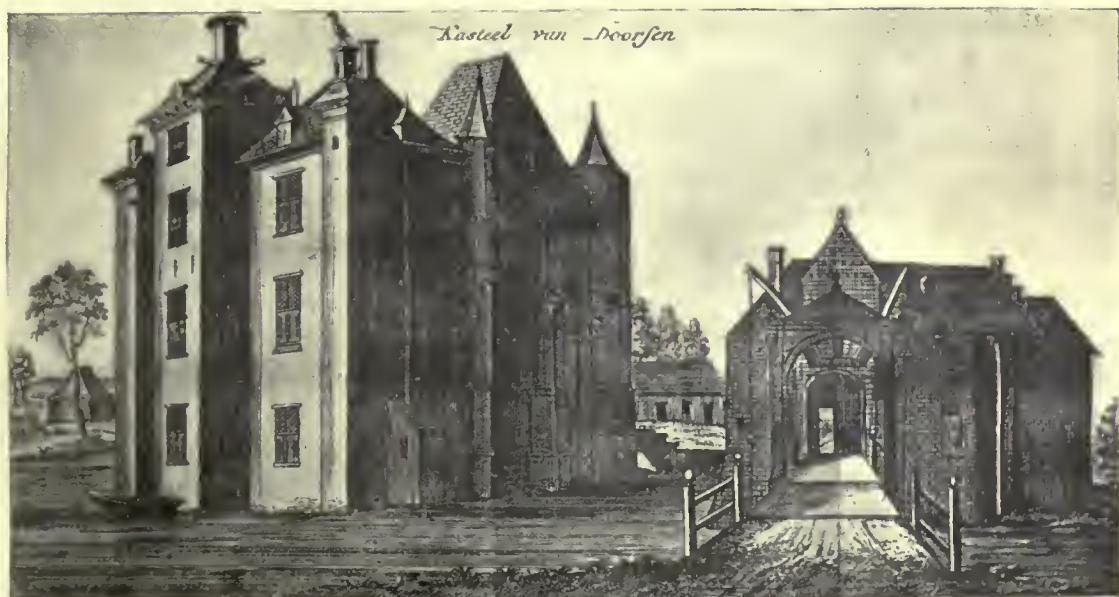
In 1512 the Guelder people attacked Deursen and burned both of the Castles. The ancient fortress on the moors was totally destroyed, but the damage done to the one that Govert built was not irreparable. It was repaired and probably then looked much as it did in the engraving here shown, which was made in the year 1689. It was still standing in 1841, but was soon afterward demolished.

The strife between Brabant and Guelderland lasted until 1516, when Charles V, who was heir to the Duchy of Burgundy, and was Duke of Brabant, succeeded also to the Dukedom of Guelderland.

The exact date when Hendrick Van Deursen left the home of his ancestors and removed to Asperen is unknown. It has been thought that it may have been at the period when Philip II of Spain became Duke of Brabant, succeeding his father, Charles V. Many of the Brabant nobles strongly resented Philip's refusal to take the Constitutional Oath.

On the accession of Philip in 1555, some of the old estates in the Netherlands passed into his possession, and these in some instances were actually purchased back by their former owners, to be held as fiefs from the King. Among these were Deursen and Bakel, both of which were granted as fiefs to Jonkheer Jan Van Doerne (Deursen). Whether he himself had owned them, or whether they had belonged to some other member of the Van Deursens,—perhaps Hendrick, who indeed may have removed to Asperen because of the loss of his estates,—is not known; nor is known the relationship between Hendrick and Jonkheer Jan.

The following is a translation of the Dutch record, a fac-simile of whose original is shown herewith, which sets forth the fact that on 16 April, 1558, Jonkheer Jan van Doerne (Deursen) purchased from the King the right to hold Deursen as a fief, and that, on the death of Jan, this fief passed to his two grandsons, Jonkheer Jan van Wittenhorst and Jonkheer Wolfaert Evert van Wittenhorst.



THE CASTLE OF DEURSEN

Built in the Fourteenth Century by Govert van Doorsen, earliest of the known ancestors of the Van Deursen family of America. From an engraving made in 1689



THE CHURCH AT DEURSEN

A FOUNDER-FAMILY OF NEW NETHERLAND

The transactions concerning the estate of Bakel were essentially the same as those regarding Deursen, and the fac-simile of the Bakel deed is here shown also.

These deeds were recently located in the Royal Archives at Brussels by Mr. Louis P. de Boer, LL. B., M. A., who presented photographs of them to the writer of this present article.

Jonkheer Jan van Wittenhorst, August 18, 1606, grantee, by death of Jonkheer Jan van Doerne, his grandfather, mentioned below.

Jonkheer Wolfaert Evert van Wittenhorst, April 11, 1606, grantee, by death and last will of Jonkheer Jan van Doerne, his grandfather, mentioned below.

The aforesaid Jonkheer Jan van Doerne holds on ground of purchase made by him from our most gracious Lord the King on April 16, 1558, the high jurisdiction of the township and the parish of Doirne, situated in the district of 's Hertogenbosch, as far as in length and breadth the limits of this jurisdiction extend, of which the aforesaid Jonkheer Jan also claims to possess the middle and low jurisdiction including the rights of extradition and execution. Together with all such rights, profits, accessions, and emoluments as our Lord the King has possessed and exercised there up to the date of the deed. Moreover, the taxes, which the said King used to raise there under the financial district of 's Bossche, to wit L7, 15 stivers, 11 pence (new coinage), i. e. 31 pence (new coinage), and extraordinary tax on the Gristmill of the Manor, amounting to 28 stivers (Artois currency), the following rights excepted, which remain reserved to our aforesaid Lord the King, to wit: the curfew, the collection of war tax, of lodgement, of commissions on outlawed suits, or legitimations, on grants, and other similar royal rights, even if not specified above; also the right on fowl and game appearing in the said township, which belongs to our aforesaid Lord the King, will not be included in this transaction, unless it be stated otherwise.

And the aforesaid jurisdiction shall be held and used, peacefully and undisturbed, by the aforesaid Jonkheer Jan and his legal heirs and descendants, or those who act in their name, from now on, as a full and complete fief from our aforesaid Lord the King, in his quality of Duke of Brabant, until the same shall be redeemed.—*Royal Archives, Brussels, "Biluwe vercrygende," Anno 1555, folio 178 (New Grantees).*

Philip II died in 1599, the Netherlands won their freedom from Spain, and Brabant, at the beginning of the Seventeenth Century, was owned by the States of the Netherlands.

At the time when the two Van Wittenhorsts claimed Deursen, in the right of their inheritance from their grandfather, Jan van Deursen, they being the

sons of Maria van Deursen and Walraven van Wittenhorst, there were other claimants to the land. One of these was Jonkheer Everard van Doerne (Deursen), Lord of Lissel, a cousin of the Van Wittenhorsts. The case was brought before three noble arbiters: Hendrick van Holtrys, Commander of the Teutonic Order at Gemert; Jonkheer Wolraven van Erp, Lord of Erp and Vechel; and Jonkheer Godert Oudaert, Lord of Rikstel. Their decision gave the ownership of Deursen to the Van Wittenhorsts—or, rather, apparently, to Wolfaert Evert van Wittenhorst.

The date of this decision was 22 October, 1607; and this was only three weeks before the birth of Abraham Pietersen Van Deursen, the founder of the line in America, who, as direct descendant of the elder branch of the family, should have been Lord of Deursen.

In 1618 a settlement was made with the other claimants, by which they received pecuniary satisfaction, in lieu of the possession of Deursen, which passed the next year to Jonkheer van Wittenhorst's daughter, Margareta Wilhelmina. When she died in 1660, the estate was heavily mortgaged, and was sold by her heirs. These were a son, Johan, by her first marriage to Jonkheer Arnold Huyn van Gelyn, and a daughter, Isabella Francisca, by her second marriage to Karel Diderik, Baron van Pallandt, whom she survived.

Deursen was bought by Rogier van Leefdael, and it remained in the possession of this family until 1730, when it passed from Seuljar van Leefdael to a man by the name of Koeymans. From him it went to Theodor de Smeth, Lord of Alphen in Holland, who was Schepen of Amsterdam.

In an old book, printed in 1705, "*Brabantia Illustrata*," there appeared a picture of the Castle of Deursen, accompanied by descriptions in Latin, French, and Dutch. The first lines of these, referring to the spelling of the name, and the location of the Castle, follow.

"Doinne, currupte Doorssen; Praefecturae Pelan diae"

"Doerne, et par un mot corrompu, Doorssen, Village de la Majeurie du Peland"

"Doinne, qualijk gesegt Doorssen, een Dorp van de Mayerye van Peland"

To return to the ancestral line of the American Colonist, Hendrick Van Deursen, as mentioned above, was the last of the elder branch of the family to be born in the old Castle. He became "Drossaert,"—a Dutch title with much the significance of the English Magistrate, or Justice of the Peace,—of Asperen, whither he had removed from Deursen. This place was also in Brabant, and there he died in 1567. Hendrick did not use his Coat-of-Arms, the "Wheel of Heusden," which his father had adopted, but returned to the original Arms, as emblazoned on the cover of this magazine.

Hendrick Van Deursen married Maria Rutgers, and they had one son, Willem. He married Elizabeth Gysberts, and their son was Pieter. The latter left

Asperen, and removed to Haerlem, in the Holland Province of the Netherlands, of which city, in 1583, he became Magistrate. He had gone to Haerlem probably in 1581, as in that year he petitioned the Prince of Orange for permission to settle in Holland.

This Pieter Van Deursen, Magistrate of Haerlem, was the father of Abraham, known as Abraham Pietersen ("son of Peter") Van Deursen, founder of the Van Deursens of America.

He was baptized in Haerlem in 1607 at the "Groote Kerk," as the Church of Saint Bavo is called. The building of this beautiful church was begun in 1397 and completed in 1520. It has among its treasures a magnificent organ, constructed in 1735-1738 by Chris. Mulle, and long considered the finest and largest in the world.

The Groote Kerk stands in the Groote Markt,—the "Great Market,"—and in this same picturesque old square stand the Stadhuis (State House) and the Meat Market. The Meat Market was erected in 1602 by Lieven de Key, the famous Dutch architect. It has recently been restored and is now used for keeping the National Archives.

Haerlem is one of the most interesting cities of the Netherlands. Its name is said to have been derived from the fact that long ago a castle of bricks was built on the River Spaarn by Heer, or Count, Willem, the town which sprang up around the Castle being given the title, "Heer," for first syllable, and "lem," the last part of the Count's name, for second syllable. It was a municipality as early as the Twelfth Century, when many of its citizens were Crusaders. During the War for Independence it sustained a siege for seven months, being finally taken in 1573. During the Seventeenth Century it recovered its prosperity, however, and was the home of several famous artists, among them Frans Hals.

Every lover of flowers knows that Holland is the home of all bulbous plants, and Haerlem supplies bulbs to the whole world. By the end of April great fields of tulips, hyacinths, crocuses, anemones, lilies, and other flowers, surround the town. It was Haerlem that was the centre of the curious mania,—as it seemed,—for the tulip in the Seventeenth Century.

On 9 December, 1629, Abraham Pietersen Van Deursen married Tryntje Melchiors. The wedding took place in the Groote Kerk. This mother of the American Van Deursens was born in Groningen, but was living in Haerlem at the time of her marriage.

The following was sent to the writer by the Archivist of Haerlem:

"I will not delay to inform you that yesterday (Feb. 8, 1910) we found in the marriage book of the Reformed Church at Haerlem the following annotation: 'Inscribed for marriage November 25, 1629. Abraham Pietersen, bachelor, born at Haerlem, dwelling in the Great Forest Street (Groote Hout Straat), with Tryntje Melchiors, Spinster, native of Groningen, dwelling in the Black-

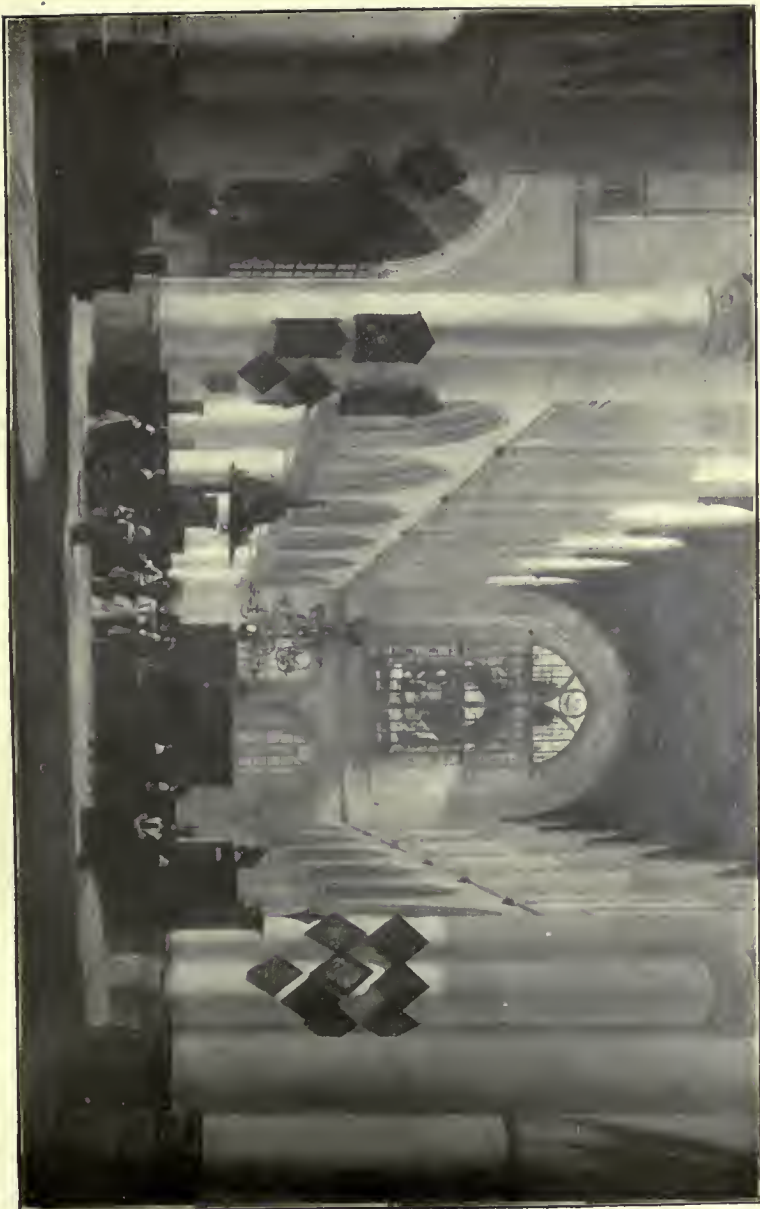
smiths Street (Smedestraat), married December 9, 1629,' in the Groote Kerk, now the Reformed Church at Haerlem. As no children of this couple are mentioned in the baptismal books from 1630 to 1635, it is allowed to suppose that the young-married, soon after the marriage left for the New World."

The original, certified copy of the marriage record, a fac-simile reproduction of which is here shown, has been deposited in the Division of Manuscripts, in the Library of Congress, at Washington.

The spire of Saint Bavo, the "Groote Kerk," can be seen from Great Forest Street, where Abraham Pietersen Van Deursen lived before his marriage, and the Blacksmiths Street, where Tryntje Melchiors had her home, leads into the Groote Markt.

It is probable that Abraham Pietersen Van Deursen immigrated to New Netherland very soon after his marriage. The public records prior to 1638 are lost; the only clue we have to events prior to that date is by mention of them afterwards. Thus we find that Abraham Pietersen was in America as early as 1636, in which year he took possession of the island of Quetenesse, off the coast of Narragansett, for the West India Company. This we learn from later records, when the English were encroaching on the Dutch possessions in the time of Stuyvesant's Governorship. The first record is dated December 30, 1654, in which the English are said to have "encroached Westerly below Cape Cod, on the Dutch limits, absorbing Rhode Island, Block Island, Martin's Vineyard, Sloop's Bay, howbeit possession had been taken thereof, for the Company [West India] in the year 1636 by one Abraham Pieterse of Haerlem, on the Island of Queteurs, situate in front of said bay, and Pequators river," etc. (Colonial History of New York, Holland Documents, Vol. 2, p. 134.) And again: "exclusive of the special possession which one Abraham Pietersen, of Haerlem, still living, hath on the Island Quetenesse, in Narricanese Bay, situate near Rhode Island, and again on another island above and about the Pequoit river, still and at this day called by the English themselves 'The Dutchman's Island,'" etc.; dated August 4, 1664 (Peter Stuyvesant to the Directors of the West India Company; *Ibid.*, p. 409). Doubtless, were the records prior to 1638 extant, we should find the name of Abraham Pietersen mentioned frequently in them, as he is in those of a later date.

Whether he came to America under contract with the West India Company as their miller is not known; but he held that position, which was an important and lucrative one in those days, from a very early date, being described in the earliest records as "Abraham Pietersen, Molenaar," or Miller. On April 2, 1658, he obtained permission to erect a watermill on the "Fresh Water," i. e., at the mouth of a stream which ran into the East River near the present James and Cherry Streets (Calendar of Dutch MSS., p. 193). This mill he deeded to Jan Cornelissen Cleyn and Ryer Cornelissen Saysbergen on September 8, 1661 (Man-



SAINT BAVO'S CHURCH, HAARLEM, HOLLAND
In this old church, whose building was begun in 1397, now known as the "Groote Kerk," were married
Abraham Pietersen Van Deursen and Trynke Melchols



GREAT FOREST STREET, HAARLEM

In this street lived, at the time of his marriage in 1629, Abraham
Pietersen Van Deursen



OLD WINDMILL, STILL STANDING ON THE RAMPARTS OF HAAR-
LEM, IN HOLLAND, WHENCE CAME TO AMERICA ABRAHAM PIET-
ERSEN VAN DEURSEN

From a Water-Color, by Wybrand Hendriks, painted between 1800 and 1810

ual of Common Council, p. 683), having previously sold it, on April 20 of the same year, to the first named of the two men (Dutch Records, Holland Society Year Book, 1900, p. 132). He probably carried on this mill as a private enterprise, in addition to his position as official miller to the Company. Pietersen had also several enterprises of his own on hand; one of which was the manufacture of groats, one of the staple food stuffs of the colony, which, prior to its manufacture by Abraham Pietersen, had to be imported from Holland. When he rented Bouwery No. 6 from Director General Kieft, in 1639, he is mentioned in the lease as "Abraham Pietersen Gorter" (manufacturer of groats). This Bouwery was leased by Kieft with two mares, one stallion, three cows, one heifer, and one calf, for the term of twenty years; Pietersen to pay an annual rental of forty-five schepels of rye and ninety pounds of butter; the increase of the cattle to be divided with the Company every four years (Calendar of Dutch MSS., p. 11). This farm had previously been occupied by Wolphert Gerritsen Van Cowenhoven (Ibid, p. 175). On November 29, 1640, he also leased Bouwery No. 5 (Calendar of Dutch MSS., pp. 73, 79), and on March 1, 1642, he disposed of all the grain sown on these two Bouweries to Jacob Barens (Ibid, p. 18). It would seem that he had sub-let Bouwery No. 5 to one Hendrick Harmensen, whom he sued November 29, 1640, for the surrender of the farm because Harmensen kept cattle, not his own, upon it, which was against the terms of the lease, imposed for the purpose of obliging farmers to clear the land and extend agriculture, instead of confining themselves chiefly to raising cattle, which was deemed less beneficial to the development of the colony. Harmensen, however, denied doing so, and the parties were reconciled in Court (Ibid, p. 73).

It seems probable that Pietersen had more than one mill, as there is a record, dated August 21, 1663, in which it is mentioned that he had sold his mill to Jan Hendricksen Van Bommel (Records of New Amsterdam, Vol. 4, p. 289). On April 27, 1658, Hendrick Van Bommel, probably the father of Jan, appeared in Court regarding a debt of 100 guilders which he owed to Abraham Pietersen, for money advanced (Holland Society Year Book, 1900, Dutch Records, p. 164), showing that Abraham Pietersen was a man of means, who could advance loans. This private milling business of Pietersen's was the cause of some friction between him and Gysbert Opdyck, Commissary for the West India Company, regarding the right of priority of the Company to have its grain ground; the miller maintaining that "first come, first served," was his right. During the heat of the controversy, Opdyck unjustly accused Pietersen of having purloined some of the Company's grain; whereupon the indignant miller immediately took the case before the Court. Opdyck was unable to prove his accusation, and the case was settled out of Court, Opdyck, however, gaining his point in so far that Pietersen was ordered "in future wind and weather permitting to grind the Company's grain before that of private persons" (Calendar of Dutch MSS., p.

99). This was during Pietersen's first contract with the West India Company, the case being before the Court on January 25 and February 2, 1646. The Commissary was, at the same time, ordered to weigh the grain on sending it to and receiving it from the mill. After the expiration of his first contract with the Company, Pietersen was reappointed as miller on August 23, 1648 (*Ibid.*, p. 120), which was probably his last term as official miller, as we have no further record of him as such.

In those days most millers and ferrymen throughout the new settlements were also innkeepers, and the explanation in regard to millers is not far to seek. Farmers and country people living long distances from the mill usually preferred, when they brought their grain to be ground, to wait for their flour if possible. The roads were poor, and the distances often very long, so that they would gain time by waiting, rather than make the journey twice. They would generally bring their lunch with them, but they required some beverage to drink with it, and as beer was the customary accompaniment to meals at that time, coffee and tea not having yet been generally introduced and expensive, the miller was naturally expected by his waiting customers to provide them with beer. This he could not sell without a permit, therefore he was obliged to take out a tapster's license. If the miller's house was accessibly located, other wayfarers naturally patronized his place; and thus, in course of time, that which had been begun for the accommodation of his waiting customers became an established business. In this way, Abraham Pietersen also became an innkeeper, and on March 16, 1648, was one of the twelve tavern keepers of New Amsterdam who promised "as true men" to observe, as far as laid in their power, all the regulations in regard to tapping then in force at New Amsterdam (*Records of New Amsterdam*, Vol. 1, p. 8). On July 23, 1648, the tavern of Abraham Pietersen was closed by the Court, on account of the killing there of a man named Clomp by Johannes Roodenborch, who was acquitted by the Court on October 6, 1648 (*Calendar of Dutch MSS.*, pp. 119, 121). This record may not, however, refer to the tavern of Abraham Pietersen, the miller. There was another Abraham Pietersen Corbyn, a discharged soldier of the West India Company, who was living at New Amsterdam at this time, and who was a very unruly character, frequently before the Court for selling rum to the Indians and fighting and disorderly proceedings in his house, and who was threatened with banishment for theft (see *Records of New Amsterdam*). That Abraham Pietersen, the miller, conducted his business in a law abiding manner, "as a true man," is evident from the fact that he was never before the Court in references thereto.

From various entries in the public records it is also evident that, like most of New Amsterdam's business men, Abraham Pietersen was quite extensively engaged in real estate transactions. Besides the records which we have of these transactions, it is quite likely he had others, the records of which have been lost,

as mentioned previously, or, perhaps, never recorded; the records which remain to us showing that they were kept very irregularly. A case in point, which is the only evidence we have that Abraham Pietersen owned real estate prior to 1649, is the petition, dated December 13, 1649, of Sybout Claesen to the States General at The Hague, stating that "The petitioner having purchased a place from Abraham Pieterse when Stuyvesant understood that the petitioner was to be the owner thereof, he, Stuyvesant, so diminished and encroached on said lot, that the petitioner was obliged to sell it at a loss of one-half" (Documentary History of New York, Vol. 1, p. 329). Another instance is the record, dated August 2, 1649, of the deeding by Abraham Pietersen to Hendrick Egbertsen of a lot situated to the northeast of the bastion of Fort Amsterdam (Calendar of Dutch MSS., p. 147). The records of his acquisition of both these properties are missing. How many more are likewise?

Then, also, he owned property on the bank of the East River, at the mouth of the "Fresh Water," upon which he built his water mill, for the erection of which he obtained a permit from Director General Stuyvesant, previously mentioned; also the property on which stood the windmill or horsemill (for the erection of which he needed no official permit, as it was not built upon a public stream), which he sold in 1663 to Jan Van Bommel. The records about this transaction are not clear. A mill was sold to Van Bommel in which the names of Abraham Pietersen and Sybout Claesen appear; but whether the sale was by Claesen or Pietersen is not plain. Pietersen may have previously sold it to Claesen, with whom he had some dealings about that time, and Claesen sold it to Van Bommel, but the language of the records is obscure.

Besides these properties Pietersen purchased from Richard Bridnell on March 19, 1653, a tract of land at Mespachtes Kill, on Long Island. This purchase, however, was annulled by mutual consent on March 28, following (Holland Society Year Book, 1900, pp. 169, 170). On October 15, 1653, he bought at public auction two houses situated on the Broadway, Manhattan (Calendar of Dutch MSS., p. 379). He may have owned another house on the Broadway, as on April 19, 1665, he was taxed 1 guilder weekly towards the maintenance of the British troops, at which time he is described as living "on the Heere Straat, New York" (Records of New Amsterdam, Vol. 5, p. 221).

It was customary in those days for business men to invest in real estate for the sole purpose of having ready means of transacting other business. It served as a sort of bank account when banks were unknown and coin very scarce. Thus we find Abraham Pietersen mortgaging some of his property on various occasions, when a favorable opportunity presented itself to buy cheaply, which called for more cash than the enterprising miller had on hand. This was the case, when, on April 20, 1656, he purchased from Captain Francois Fyn a herd of cattle, upon which there remained a balance of four hundred guilders. For

this amount Pietersen mortgaged to Fyn his house and lot on the Great Heerewegh (Broadway) (Holland Society Year Book, 1900, p. 160). When, on December 3, 1657, he needed money for another commercial transaction, he applied to Borgomaster Oloff Stevens Van Courtlandt for a loan of five hundred guilders; for which amount he mortgaged his second house and lot, on the west side of the Broadway (Ibid, p. 163). That his credit was good and his note considered as good as a mortgage is shown by the fact that at the death of Johannes De Hulter he owed the estate three hundred and fifty guilders, at ten per cent. interest, for which he had signed a promissory note, and for the use of which money he had paid interest, amounting to thirty-five guilders, on September 3, 1659 (Minutes of the Orphans' Court, New Amsterdam, pp. 106, 107). There is no record of the loan, we know of it only through the administration of De Hulter's estate by the Orphans' Court.

That he might carry on his business transactions with more freedom, Pietersen took out papers as a small Burgher of New Amsterdam on April 14, 1657 (Records of New Amsterdam, Vol. 7, p. 152). Small Burghers were entitled to freedom of trade and the privilege of being received into their respective Guilds; it also secured them exemption from toil and from being sued from a fellow Burgher, except in their own burgh; they could not be imprisoned without bail, nor tried for any offense after the lapse of one year. For this right the applicant had to pay twenty-five guilders. Many of the earliest of the inhabitants of New Amsterdam considered themselves entitled to this without being made to pay for it, Pietersen among the number; but the city authorities thought differently, and on September 11, 1663, Pietersen's name is on the Court minutes as not yet having paid his fee (Records of New Amsterdam, Vol. 4, p. 300).

Attacks by the hostile Indians on the little colony were not infrequent, and as a protection against their incursions a wall had been erected across the lower end of the Island of Manhattan, with a bastion, or gateway and tower, at the Broadway, and another at the other end of the bank of the East River. This wall ran along the line of the present Wall Street, which derives its name from this fact. From time to time the wall would become dilapidated at some point, and need repair. This was the case in September, 1655, after a surprise by the Indians, when it was found necessary to strengthen the wall. For this purpose Abraham Pietersen voluntarily subscribed six guilders towards the repairs (Ibid, p. 370). Another record states that he was assessed three guilders for this purpose (Valentine's History of New York, p. 316). His subscription of six guilders was accepted by the authorities, however, and may indicate that he may have been a loser by the late incursion, and was not, at this time, in such prosperous circumstances; his property being the third lot south of Wall Street, opposite Trinity Church, and it was there he was living at the time he was assessed for maintaining the English soldiers in 1665. We have this location



OLD COIN CHEST BELONGING TO GLONDE VAN DEUSEN, A REVOLUTIONARY SOLDIER, AND A DESCENDANT OF THE VAN DEURSENS OF HOLLAND



FIRE-PLACE IN THE HOMESTEAD OF CAPTAIN CHRISTOPHER
VAN DUZER, AT WARWICK, NEW YORK

Captain Van Duzer, who fought in the War of the Revolution, was one of the many American descendants of the Dutch Van Deursens who have served their country as brave soldiers



OLD SAW WHICH BELONGED TO CASPER VAN DUSEN, 1784



RESIDENCE OF MATTHEW VAN DUSEN, PHILADELPHIA
Known as "Fairman's Mansion," this old house was built in 1710, and taken down in 1825. Facing the house is the historic "Penn's Treaty Tree"



DUTCH WINDMILL OF THE
PERIOD OF ABRAHAM
PIETERSEN VAN DEURSEN,
WHO WAS A MILLER



FIRST LIEUTENANT ALBERT HARRISON VAN DEUSEN, SEATED
IN TENT, AT ANNAPOLIS, 1864
Lieutenant (now Captain) Van Deusen was wounded at Petersburg,
18 June, 1864

verified by a deed, dated December 20-30, 1664, in which it is stated that Pieter Stoutenburgh sold a house and lot to Tomas Major, "situate on the Eastside of the Heere Straat [Broadway] bounded North by the house and lot of Abraham Pietersen Molenaar [Miller], south by the lot of Jan Jansen Brestee," etc. (Minutes of the Orphan Masters of New Amsterdam, Vol. 2, p. 4).

That Abraham Pietersen held the confidence and respect of the community in which he lived, and was a man of affairs in that community, is shown by the fact that he was chosen at a meeting of the representative men of Fort Amsterdam as one of twelve men who were to be a sort of advisory board to the Government. The meeting had been convoked by Director Kieft on August 29, 1641, following the murder of Claes Cornelissen Swits, the wheelwright, in his lonely dwelling on Turtle Bay, on East River, by a young Weckquaesgeek (Westchester County) Indian; and many other depredations by the Indians which had excited the people to such a pitch that retaliatory, as well as protective, measures were demanded from the government. This election of the historic "Twelve Men" was the first attempt at representative government in the Colony, and for him to have been a member of such a body is no mean honor to the descendants of Abraham Pietersen.

But the Twelve Men were not satisfied with simply advising the Director General in regard to measures to be taken against the Indians. As representatives of the people they desired a voice in the conduct of public affairs, and endeavored to influence the actions of the government. This, however, Director Kieft was neither empowered by his superiors in Holland, nor personally inclined to allow, and as a result, on February 18, 1642, the Board of Twelve Men was dissolved.

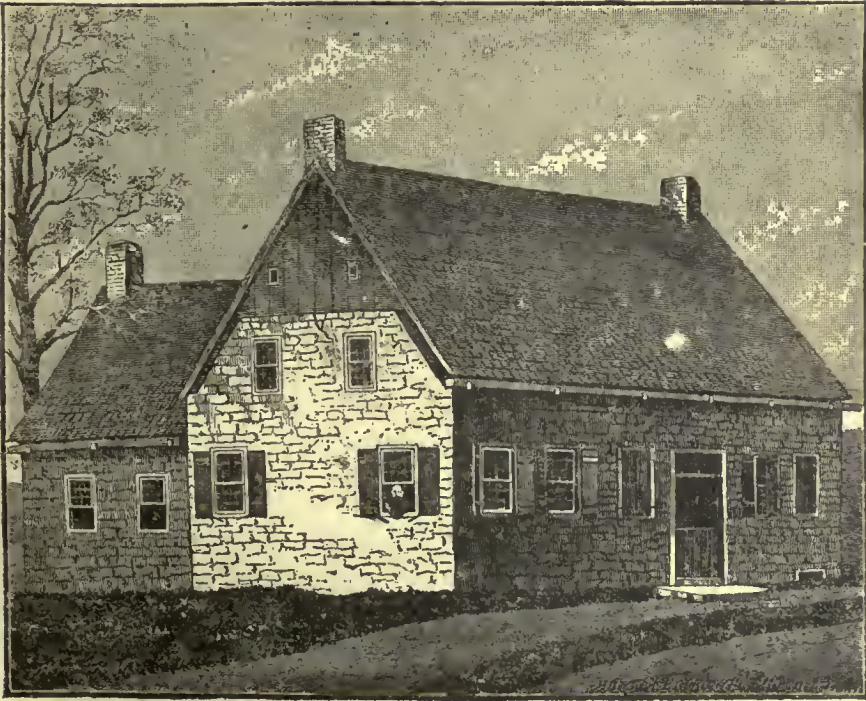
Circumstances, however, principally the ruinous Indian war which was then devastating the country around New Amsterdam, again forced the government to call a meeting of its principal burghers in the Fort. Again the government advised the election of a number of popular representatives to advise and assist the authorities in regard to the conduct of the war. Again the forty-eight representative men, who had previously met in the Fort, were ready to aid the Director General and Council by means of their chosen delegates. This time, however, instead of electing their delegates, they desired the government to make the appointment, while they, the electors, would reject whoever was not agreeable to them. Eight men were selected by the government, one of whom, again, was "Abraham Pietersen, Molenaar." The people, early in September, 1642, ratified the government's choice, but the Board of Eight Men themselves, on September 15, rejected one of their number, Jan Jansen Damen, who was specially accused of having brought about the disastrous Indian war, and of having "signed a certain request in the name of the community" (Documentary History of New York, Vol. 13, p. 16).

The Board of Eight Men was in existence for four years, from September, 1643, to September, 1647; most of the time in violent opposition to the government. This fact may account for only two of its members being appointed to the Board of Nine Men, which succeeded to the dissolved Board of Eight Men on September 25, 1647.

It was while he was a member of the Board of Eight that Pietersen haled Sybout Claesen and his wife to Court for slandering him. These cases of slander were not infrequent among the burghers of New Amsterdam, and Abraham Pietersen did not escape them; but with the same consciousness of integrity with which he afterwards brought Commissioner Opdyck before the Court, he was not afraid to have this accusation made public. After the matter had been thoroughly sifted by the Court on March 21, 1645, Clasen and his wife were obliged to retract their slander, and to openly declare that "they know nothing but what is good and honorable of the plaintiff" (Calendar of Dutch MSS., p. 93).

Although Abraham Pietersen was not one of the ninety-four signers of the petition to Director General Stuyvesant, dated September 5, 1664, advising him to surrender New Amsterdam to the English, he was one of those who, on October 21 and following days, took the oath of allegiance to Charles II (Ibid, Vol. 3, p. 76). They had bravely defended their rights, but when they saw it was a hopeless struggle, they wisely submitted to the inevitable and became as loyal subjects to the British king as they had been to their own loved Fatherland. Their interests were too deeply rooted in the country of their adoption to permit of returning to Holland. To have done so would have meant to lose their all, acquired by hard work and many privations; and to begin life anew in the crowded homeland from which they had but recently come. Stuyvesant himself, after a brief visit to Holland in 1665, returned to New York and passed the remainder of his life on his farm, "the Bouwery," situated some distance outside of the city, on the country which led up the east side of the island out onto the Post Road to Boston; known to later generations as the Bowery, of well known reputation. These sturdy Dutch burghers formed the stable foundation upon which was built the solid structure of this great Republic, and their descendants may well feel pride in them.

And Abraham Pietersen was not more commendable as a citizen than he was as a parent; the city records bearing silent testimony to his tender care for his family. He had apprenticed his son, Pieter, with Claes Tysen, the cooper, to learn the trade; but Tysen beat the boy so severely that Pietersen petitioned the Court on October 18, 1661, to release the boy. This the Court could not do, after considering the case; but the proceedings had the desired effect upon Tysen of making him treat the boy as he should, which was all the father sought (Records of New Amsterdam, Vol. 1, p. 386). His daughter, Marytje, was the wife of



JAN VAN DEUSEN'S HOUSE, AT HURLEY, ULSTER COUNTY, NEW YORK
In this house, built about 1720, the Council of Safety met in November, 1777, after the
burning of Kingston by the British

Thomas Jansen Mingael, who died early, leaving a family of five small children to be provided for, and his estate in a very precarious condition. On December 4, 1662, Abraham Pietersen was made guardian of these children, and endeavoured to save the estate of their father from insolvency, but without effect. On February 14, 1663, the widow and her father abandoned the estate, which included a yacht named *The Flower of Gelder*, and the Orphans' Court appointed administrators. On February 23, 1663, Abraham Pietersen offered to buy in the goods at the price they were valued at, to be paid for in May (Records of New Amsterdam, Vol. 14, pp. 176-203; Minutes of the Orphanmasters).

He and his wife, Tryntje Melchiors, are found inscribed in the register of membership of the Reformed Dutch Church of New York in 1649; but they are entered as "Oude Ledematen" (old members), but as this was simply a copy from the earlier membership records, it is impossible to tell just when they joined the church, or how; whether by confession of faith or by letter from the church in Holland. If the original church record had been preserved it might have positively established the time of their coming to New Amsterdam.

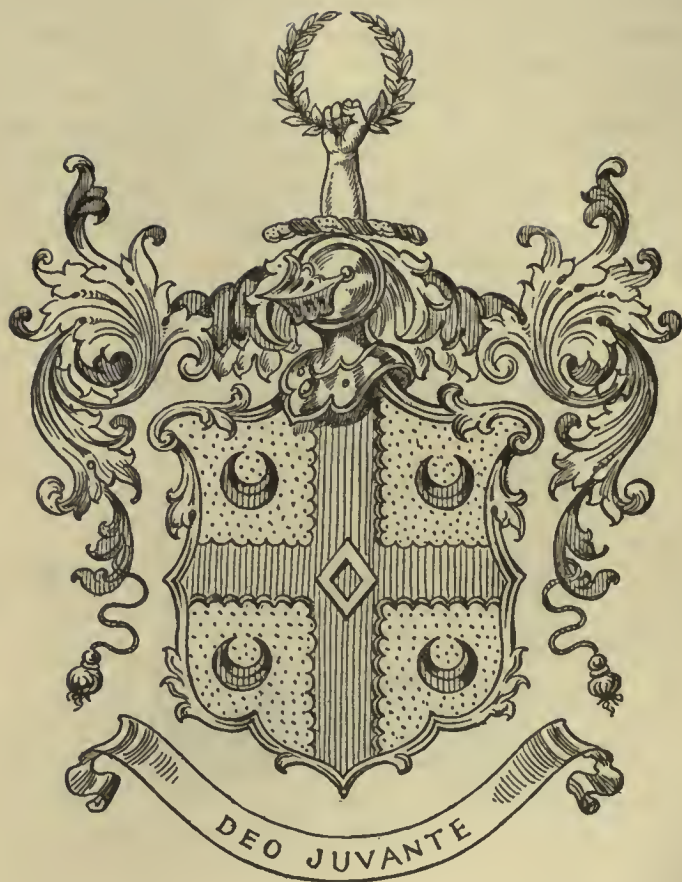
And it is on this same old church register that we last meet this doughty pioneer of New Netherland. In the baptismal records it is stated that he was a witness at the baptism of Annetie, the daughter of his son, Pieter Abrahamszen Van Duersen, and of Hester Webbers, Pieter's wife, on July 10, 1667. Thereafter his name disappears from the records, and it is probable that he closed his well spent life about this time, although comparatively a young man.

We know nothing whatever about his wife, Tryntje Melchiors, or Melcherts. That the records contain no mention of her other than as a wife and mother, is a good report. She evidently went quietly about her duties, keeping out of trouble and bringing up her children to be useful members of the community, in which she was aided, doubtless, by the father's good example. She was still alive on December 18, 1678, when she was a witness at the baptism of her granddaughter, Tryntie, named for her, the child of her son, Pieter, and Hester Webbers. This is the last mention of her in the public records, from which we infer that she died about this time, as she would be then at least seventy years of age; the worthy ancestress of so large a family. From her marriage record at Haarlem we learn that she was a native of Groningen, the earliest church records of which town date only from 1640.

It will have been noticed that in all these records there has been no mention of the surname "Van Deursen." Deursen is a place name, and, as was customary among the Dutch, the family took their surname from the place of their birth. It was, however, a matter of individual choice whether the surname was used or not, and this has been the aggravation of all Dutch genealogists and students of early American history. Some members of the same family would use the surname, while others were known simply by their patronymic, or father's name.

This latter was the case with Abraham Pietersen; he was Abraham, son of Pieter; sen, se, sz, and s, terminating a name, meaning "son of." "Van" means from, or of, and has no particular meaning apart from this; although some, erroneously, think it is a mark of nobility, as is the case with "von" in Germany. Thus, Abraham Pietersen Van Deursen means Abraham, son of Pieter, from Deursen. He did not use his surname, nor did any of the family until 1667, when Pieter Abrahamszen Van Deursen is so designated in the baptismal record of one of his children. The general use of the surname by the English people who settled in America doubtless had its influence in causing the habit to become more general with the Dutch among whom they lived. After 1667 we find the name used by all the members of Abraham Pietersen's family habitually; although the spelling of it becomes various as the years pass on and members of the family remove to other parts of the country.





✦ WODDERSPOON ✦

Soldiers of 1812

Military Lists and Other Documents Relating to Vermont History, Found Among the Papers of Captain Luke Parsons, Who Served as Captain of Cavalry in the War of 1812, Contributed by His Great-Grandson, for Permanent Record in The Journal of American History

BY

CARLOS PARSONS DARLING

[Continued from Number 4, Volume VI]

VII

NAMES FOUND IN TWO LISTS AMONG CAPTAIN PARSON'S PAPERS

James Clay, aged 19, farmer, Chester, Vt.
Charles Boutwell, aged 20, farmer, Chester, Vt.
Reuben Dike, aged 26, shoemaker, Cavendish, Vt.
Samuel Adams, aged 23, farmer, Cavendish, Vt.
Harry Page, aged 20, farmer, Cavendish, Vt.
Luther Hutchinson, aged 22, farmer, Cavendish, Vt.
Jacob Seargeant, aged 22, farmer, Ludlow, Vt.
John McCollom, aged 28, carpenter, Ludlow, Vt.
Daniel Road(?), aged 21, joiner, Grafton, Vt.
Henry Willard, aged 23, farmer, Rockingham, Vt.
John F. Gilson, aged 23, farmer, Rockingham, Vt.
John Smith, Jr., aged 26, farmer, Grafton, Vt.
Alden Toby, aged 21, shoemaker, Wardsborough, Vt.
Ziba Howard, aged 25, farmer, Grafton, Vt.
Francis Fetch, aged 20, farmer, Cavendish, Va.
Abel Brown, aged 19, farmer, Springfield, Vt.
Edmond Lockwood, aged 21, farmer, Springfield, Vt.
Lewis Lynd, Brattleboro, Vt.
Amos Plimpton, Wardsborough, Vt.
Benjamin Smith, Wardsborough, Vt.
John J. Brailey, Wardsborough, Vt.

THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Lyman Bullard, Newfane, Vt.
David Haywood, Wardsborough, Vt.
Samuel Smith, Marlborough, Vt.
Joel Adam(s?), Marlborough, Vt.
Phineas Mathew, Marlborough, Vt.
Hial Rich, Halifax, Vt.
James Hatch, Jr., Halifax, Vt.
Dexter Hatch, Halifax, Vt.
John Thomas, Halifax, Vt.
William Knight, Marlborough, Vt.
James Clay, Chester, Vt.
John Gilkey, Chester, Vt.
Jona Arthurton, Jr., Cavendish, Vt.
Samuel Adams, Cavendish, Vt.
Permanas Heard, Cavendish, Vt.
William Spafford, Ludlow, Vt.
Rufus Rice, Athens, Vt.
William Palmer, Grafton, Vt.
Samuel Cutting
Timothy Root
John K. Chase
Otis Fisher
David Rice, Guilford, Vt.
Charles B. Stevens, Guilford, Vt.
Obid Fisher, Whitingham, Vt.
Forbed Holden
Jacob More (?), Jr.
Ephraim Gale, Guilford, Vt.
John Barber, Guilford, Vt.
John Caffry
Thaddeus Underwood, Jr.
Nehemiah Needham
Jasper Hunt
Bildad Adams
Jeremiah Fetch
William Stiles
Samuel Rice
Lee Alexander
Solon Shumway
Roswell Colburn
Benj. Leroy

SOLDIERS OF 1812

Sylvenas Toby
Grove Streeter
Josiah S. Allen, Whitingham, Vt.
Eli..... (illegible), Whitingham, Vt.
Isaac Lincoln, Wilmington, Vt.
James Roberts, Whitingham, Vt.
Samuel Holman, Wilmington, Vt.
Sylvester Holden, Westminster, Vt.
Oliver Kemp, Jr., Dover, Vt.
George Allen, Wardsborough, Vt.
Drurey(?) Fairbanks, Wardsborough, Vt.
Forbes Holden, Newfane, Vt.
Nathaniel Holland, Newfane, Vt.
Jacob Morse, Jr., Newfane, Vt.

These lists are dated from Headquarters, Burlington, Vermont, October 9,
1812.





✦ ROBINSON ✦

One of the Nation's Builders: Soldier, Statesman, Jurist

BY

MARY STANISLAS AUSTIN

Granddaughter of Major-General Micah Brooks



ICAH BROOKS was born on his father's estate of Brooks Vale, township of Cheshire, Connecticut, May 14, 1775. Brooks was a well known name in Cheshire of old England as having been that of members of Parliament and lords of manors, and also as appearing as officers in the British army—it was synonymous with loyalty. Two young rebels of this loyal family and of that eminently loyal shire had enrolled themselves under the standard of Cromwell and after the Restoration their names were no longer known in the land of their fathers, and all ties were severed between them and the land of their birth.

The names of John and Henry Brooks appear as proprietors in the New Haven colony as early as the year 1685. John eventually removed to Fairfield, leaving it to his younger brother to found the family in the New Haven colony. Henry Brooks married Hannah Blakely, December 21, 1676, and their son, Thomas, was born March 27, 1679.

In 1702 Thomas Brooks married Martha, daughter of Captain Joshua Hotchkiss, from Essex, England, in 1641.

In 1705 Thomas purchased 350 acres of land north of New Haven and gave the name of Cheshire to the township. In 1723 religious services were held in the houses of Thomas Brooks and his father-in-law, Captain Joshua Hotchkiss.

On an old slab in the Cheshire burying ground one may read:

Here lieth Ye Body of
Lieut. Thomas Brooks
who departed this life
May 18th 1732
in Ye
54th year of his age.
[1095]

Thomas and Martha Brooks' third son, Enos, was born February 15, 1708. He married Tamar, daughter of David Wooster, fourth son of Edward Wooster, founder of Derby, Connecticut. They resided in Brooks Vale in the south-western part of Cheshire. Their eldest son, Enos, Jr., was an officer in the war of the Revolution. He was the lineal ancestor of the late Judge James Brooks Dill, the eminent corporation lawyer who could command any fee up to one million dollars for a few months' suit. Enos, Sr., oldest daughter was the mother of Judge William Bristol, of the Supreme Court of Connecticut.

David Brooks, second son of Enos and Tamar Brooks, born August 14, 1744, graduated from Yale College in 1765. He was a minister and leader in public affairs. He married, in 1773, Elizabeth, daughter of Daniel Doolittle, one of the Committee of Five that managed the affairs of the New Haven colony and was a founder of Wallingford, Connecticut. He held many important offices in the two settlements. During King Philip's war a picket fort was erected around his house as a place of refuge for the residents of Wallingford.

The Doolittle family were descended from Sir Archibald Clark, Laird of Doolittle Midlothian, which family traced its ancestry back to Sir Alanus Clark, Clark of Comrie Castle, Perth, Scotland. Sir Archibald Clark, Laird of Doolittle, was under-secretary to James VI. of Scotland and accompanied that monarch to England to be crowned as James I. of England. His two sons being Covenanters left England with the New Haven colony during the reign of Charles I.

The Rev. David Brooks bore a prominent part in the agitations that preceded the Declaration of Independence and aroused patriotism by word and example. His sermon preached at Derby by request of his kinsman, Major-General David Wooster, has been included in his collection of sermons preached during those times by the Rev. Edward Beecher. The church at the time was surrounded by a picket guard.

Mr. Brooks was an active member of the Vigilance Committee and during the war acted as chaplain and quartermaster, but whenever there was heavy fighting he shouldered a musket and fired his bullets. He represented Wallingford in the State Legislature in 1777 and was a delegate to the State convention that adopted the United States Constitution.

Micah Brooks, the Reverend David's eldest son, was born in Brooks Vale, and studied under his father's direction. It was during those early years he acquired those diligent and studious habits that were his marked characteristics during life, and along with these were habits of observation and research joined to principles of sound patriotism, for his habits were formed and conducted by the cool brain, firm will, and steady hand of a theologian and statesman, softened by the grace of old-time courtesy.

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Micah's environment, undoubtedly, had much to do in the formation of his character, as well as with his fine physical development, and fostered in him an ardent love for nature in all her moods. This charming locality produced many famous personages, among whom were several related to him, such as Governor and Admiral Foote, General-Governor Hull and his nephew, Commodore Hull, Frederick Law Olmstead, etc. Kensett, the artist, and Ives, the sculptor, first saw the light near by.

In 1790, or a little later, Robert Morris purchased a large portion of the 2,000,000 acres granted by purchase to Messrs. Phelps and Gorham, situated in the Genesee country in western New York, and such glowing descriptions were published of the beauty and fertility of that region that many visited it with the intention of locating there. Micah Brooks was one of these.

In 1792 the route from New Haven to Albany was through a natural road through the forest. From Albany to Schenectady it was somewhat better. At the latter place it struck the Mohawk river and lay through a generally level valley, farther somewhat undulating, which, according to one early traveler, "produced very pleasant sensations," but according to one more pessimistic, was "a miserable road, a haunt of tribes and hiding place for wolves." Mr. Brooks made his journey on horseback, carrying his change of wardrobe in a knapsack, which manner of traveling had been generally adopted since the war had brought knapsacks into vogue. Mr. Brooks has written a description of his journey, which has been published in some of his biographies. Mr. Brooks thoroughly exploited the Genesee country, and charmed with the prospect of such an adventurous life, he returned eastward to prepare to remain in the new land for the remainder of his life. In 1797 the journey was less dangerous and fatiguing, as the Legislature had taken certain portions of the roads under its patronage.

Charmed with the Bloomfields, which had been quite settled by families from New England of sterling moral and material worth, his choice fell upon the eastern sister township, known as "The Garden Township of the Genesee Country." To make a trial before settling permanently there Mr. Brooks accepted the charge of a school just erected. In his "Reminiscences" Mr. James Sperry speaks of young Brooks and his methods of pedagogy in a very interesting manner and humorously describes the efforts of the young schoolmaster to supply necessary equipments to illustrate his lectures.

In 1798 Mr. Brooks returned to Cheshire to pursue a course in surveying under Professor Meigs, of Yale, and after a summer spent thus he received his certificate. In the autumn of the same year he made a pedestrian trip from the Genesee country to Niagara Falls, following the Indian trails, and being a one-night's guest of Pondry and his Indian wife at Tonawanda. On his return, which he made through Canada, he passed through Chippewa and other places

where in after years, 1812, he was to see much hard fighting. In Turner's "History of the Phelps and Gorham Purchase" may be found an excerpt from his journal kept at the time, in which he noted reflections which seem prophetic, so literally have they taken form. Of them he said himself "I have often thought that I had then a presentment of part of what a half century has accomplished."

Mr. Brooks, having fully decided upon settling in East Bloomfield, purchased, in 1800, the farm upon which he had resided and returned to Connecticut to bid a final good-bye to his family and obtain materials for the house he contemplated erecting.

As soon as he identified himself with the Genesee country Mr. Brooks was appointed associate commissioner with Messrs. Hugh McNair and Matthew Warner to lay out a road from Horndsville—now Hornell—to the mouth of the Genesee river, the purpose of which was to form a portage between the Susquehanna river and Lake Ontario. Later on he was appointed to survey the route for the State road from the mouth of the Genesee river to Olean on the Alleghany river for the purpose of connecting lake travel with the nearest river of the Mississippi Valley. Some of the trees he blazed to make the route were incorporated in the Mount Hope cemetery in Rochester.

In the discharge of his duties as commissioner Mr. Brooks is said to have evinced a clear perception of the needs of the public and a good knowledge of the topography of the country. He gained, likewise, a clear perception of the future commercial importance of the almost unbroken forests of western New York—a knowledge that was of great use in after years when as a member of Congress he was engaged upon the matter of internal improvements.

In 1802 Mr. Brooks journeyed eastward to bring back with him a wife from his native State. This he found in Miss Mary Brockway Hall, daughter of Deacon Abel Hall and Caroline Brockway, of Lynn, Connecticut. This branch of the Hall family came from Devonshire, England, in 1636, and with others purchased the site and founded the city of Taunton, Mass. Hall was a founder of the Pilgrim Congregational Church of Taunton. The Brockways were descended from Wolstone Brockway, 1640-1718, one of the earliest settlers of Lynn, Connecticut. Between the Halls and the Brockways there was a double relationship formed, which eventuated in Mr. Brooks' wife being the double second cousin of the late Hon. Henry Jarvis Raymond, the founder of the *New York Times*. Quite a number of the Brockways were ministers, while others filled prominent positions in the service of their country. It has entered into history that Deacon Abel Hall and Caroline Brockway were the happiest couple in Lynn. Abel fought in the Revolutionary war.

The militia of Ontario county was organized in 1800 and by the year 1806 there was a brigade of three complete battalions and an excellent troop of horse.

Mr. Brooks had devoted himself with all his youthful energy in the formation of this body of militia and he rose in it through successive graduations to the rank of major-general. His costume was that of General Washington and he presented a noble appearance when, mounted upon a fine horse and followed by his colored groom he made the rounds of the county to hold dress-reviews.

In the year 1806 Mr. Brooks, at the age of thirty-one, held the office of justice of the peace under the administration of Governor Morgan Lewis, and two years later that of assistant justice of the entire county of Ontario, and was also elected to the Legislature. A little later on he became judge of Ontario county, which office he held for twenty years.

In 1807, when in Canandaigua, Mr. Brooks called at the office of the *Genesee Messenger*. Mr. Jesse Hawley was in the act of correcting the proof-sheets of one of his articles over the signature of "Hercules," which advocated the overland route for a canal to connect Lake Erie with the Hudson river. He was introduced to Mr. Brooks by the editor, with the suggestion that the Judge would be the very person to assist him in carrying out his project. In an ensuing conversation Judge Brooks became so interested in Mr. Hawley's views that he became an ardent advocate of the "mighty enterprise," as he styled it.

Immediately upon his arrival in Albany, Judge Brooks called on Governor Tompkins with copies of the paper containing Mr. Hawley's article and explained the object to him. The Governor expressed a great desire to investigate the subject, but feared his executive duties during the session of the Legislature would not allow him time for the purpose. The Judge then called upon Mr. Clinton, at that time a senator, and also upon Lieutenant-Governor Taylor, but neither of these persons seemed to take any interest in the subject, nor expressed any desire to peruse the papers proffered. It was a time of great political excitement and Mr. Clinton's feelings were deeply involved in the great friction between the Federalist and Anti-Federalist parties.

The Judge next called upon Simeon De Witt, the Surveyor-General, who asked him to leave the papers with him, saying that he would examine them at his earliest leisure, remarking that he had received a letter from Mr. Joseph Ellicott, agent of the Holland Land Company, and that Mr. Ellicott had even traced a practicable route from Lake Erie to the Genesee river with the assurance that the route could be extended through Ontario county to Seneca river. Judge Brooks left the essays of Mr. Hawley with the Surveyor-General.

Upon his return from Albany Judge Brooks visited Mr. Ellicott at Batavia for the sole purpose of enquiring about the subject in which he was very deeply interested, the practicability of the plan being to him quite beyond a doubt. In fact, he writes, "I knew the fact." Later on, when De Witt Clinton had become the declared champion of the Erie Canal, he magnanimously

wrote in a letter that his idea of the canal was derived from writings of Mr. Hawley, for which he had requested Judge Brooks to give him an order to obtain from Mr. De Witt, with whom Judge Brooks had left them.*

Besides the above mentioned efforts Judge Brooks availed himself of every opportunity afforded by his position and extensive acquaintance with men of prominence to call their attention to the project, and by his arguments in its favor to enlist their support in aid of the enterprise.

While Judge Brooks was sitting in the State Legislature in the early part of March, 1809, relations began to be so strained between the United States and Great Britain and France that the former interdicted all treaties with the latter countries, and further aggression on the part of Great Britain caused the United States Government to finally declare war in the year of 1812.

The war was opened by an attack upon Canada, the invading force being led by Brigadier General Hull. The British called to their assistance an Indian force. Judge Brooks, having a military commission, tendered his services for the entire war and served as lieutenant-colonel and staff officer and afterwards as colonel of a regiment under General Amos Hall, of West Bloomfield, who, like himself, was a native of Connecticut, and who had succeeded General William Wadsworth as commander-in-chief on the Niagara frontier.

Colonel Brooks kept a journal from the time he assumed his military duties until very active warfare gave him no leisure to use his pen. The journal may be seen at Washington's Headquarters in Newburgh, New York. The first entry is dated July 23, 1812, the final one October 9th of the same year.

This old journal serves to show the trend of the writer's thoughts and his habit of close observation, as well as the manner in which the troops occupied their time during the armistice and the preparation for active hostilities.

In the *Buffalo Gazette* of August 9, 1814, appeared the following article: "We understand that 1,000 militia have been requested by Maj.-Gen. Brown from Maj.-Gen. Hall's division. They will be commanded by Lieut.-Col. Micah Brooks and are reported on their march from Buffalo." And later on—"Two companies of the 19th Regt. arrived in Buffalo on Thursday evening last from Erie, Pa. The detached militia under Lieut.-Col. Brooks are stationed at Williamsville."

One of Colonel Brooks' letters to his wife, written during his active military life, has been saved from the disastrous conflagration at Brooks Grove wherein much of historic and literary value was consumed. In it he speaks of many alarms and a violent attack on Fort Erie, in which the enemy were beaten off. He mentions his arduous duties which "leave him little time for writing letters."

* This letter may be seen in the N. Y. Historical Society's Library, among the collection of Henry O'Reilly's documents.

On the 24th of December, 1814, a treaty was agreed to and signed, and the war was formally closed. President Madison in his proclamation of that year, September 20, 1814, says of the Northern Division of the Army:

"On our side we can appeal to a series of achievements which have given new lustre to the American arms. Besides the brilliant incidents in the minor operations of the campaign, the splendid victories gained on the Canadian side of the Niagara by the American forces under Maj.-Gen. Brown and Brigadiers Scott and Gaines have gained for those heroes and their emulating companions the most unfading laurels, and having triumphantly tested the progressive discipline of the American soldiery have taught the enemy that the longer he protracts his hostile efforts the more certain and decisive will be his final discomfiture."

Colonel Brooks, having resumed his judicial duties, was elected to the 14th session of Congress to open the December of 1815. The territory he represented was very large, his Congressional district embracing the entire western part of New York State on a line north and south with Seneca lake; and in this office he was entirely alone, his colleague, General Peter B. Porter, having been appointed a commissioner to settle the boundary question with Great Britain.

In his later years General Brooks was wont to compare the speed and manner of his later journeys with those of his early days, saying that when he went to Washington, in 1815, it was by coach, and they covered some two weeks of time, the route not being direct and the condition of the roads having to be taken into consideration—"But then," he would add, "one made up his mind to take things easy; whereas, after railroads were in operation should there occur a detention of a few moments every head would be out of the window to know what the matter could be."

Judge Brooks made the journey in his own coach, a fine affair for those days, of English manufacture and very like the ones we see cuts of as belonging to General Washington. Consequently, his journey, although attended with a certain amount of danger were made with considerable degree of comfort as, being the only passenger, he could travel to please himself and stop when and where it suited him. His books were always pleasant traveling companions and never wearied him. Upon leaving his wife and little family Mrs. Brooks placed in his hand a farewell letter which he was not to open until he reached his destination. The letter was touchingly affectionate and contained some good counsel, but there was a tone of such pathos, which seemed to foreshadow a near ending to their happy united life, that it was undoubtedly due to it that Judge Brooks relinquished all thoughts of a public life, which seemed to have opened so auspiciously, and caused him to remain in future near his home and family. The destruction of the capital city had been such during the war that other build-

ings had to be fitted up temporarily for the sessions of Congress during the term of Judge Brooks.

His career as a Congressman is said to have been marked by steady and unremitting application to his duties as a representative of the people. He was constant in his attendance, logical and convincing in his arguments, particularly when dealing with data and statistics; consequently he became one of the most useful members of the House and reflected credit upon his constituents. It has likewise been said that few men, if any, had a better or more extensive knowledge of political events in the country, combined with a good natural intellect, improved by intercourse with the world, and a steady habit of self-reliance. He was a competent debater and a drafter of bills, and he executed many papers on Political History and the rise of Internal Improvements, and he continued a vigorous writer even until his death. When it is realized that he was associated in Congress with such men as Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, John C. Calhoun, Richard M. Johnson, William Henry Harrison and other able men, and that he was distinguished among them, and was chairman of a committee of which some of them were members, his status may be recognized.

The President's message upon the opening of the Fourteenth Congress was marked for its many important matters, as may be seen in the first volume of the "Messages and Papers of the Presidents."

The question of Internal Improvement within the States by the Federal Government now began to prepare for a large development and a commission was appointed for the carrying forward of this matter and the question of the construction of roads and canals became a prominent topic in Congress, and of this new committee on Internal Improvements Judge Brooks was constituted chairman.

We have seen the difficulties Judge Brooks had encountered in endeavoring to attract the attention of De Witt Clinton towards the design of the Erie Canal when he was a member of the State Assembly in 1808, and, singularly enough, it happened that Mr. Clinton in his turn was to appeal to him to use his influence in furthering the project. Mr. Clinton acknowledged that the conversation he had with Judge Brooks relative to the great design had often risen before him and subsequently he had given the matter his serious consideration, so much so that he became its most enthusiastic champion, and he urged the benefit that would arise from it to the city, State and country in regard to defense, to commerce and to increase in the wealth and population, as well as to the stability of the Union. He was so successful in his efforts that he was deputed, with others, to submit the project to the Government at Washington, asking its coöperation by a Governmental appropriation for its construction.

Mr. Clinton placed the petition in the hands of Judge Brooks, certain that it could find no better advocate. The Judge presented it to Congress and he

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was appointed chairman of a special committee to whom the subject was referred, and Daniel Webster and Henry Clay are mentioned as being members of this body. A writer has said that Judge Brooks was a thoroughly practical man and prosecuted energetically whatever he undertook, and although no Governmental assistance was granted, the feasibility of the Erie Canal became a reality.

The committee passed a favorable report, which was presented to the House committee, which took the form of a bill appropriating aid for the project.

The bill passed both Houses and the Judge was overjoyed at the fulfillment of his desires, when, like a thunderbolt from a cloudless sky, fell the veto of President Madison. Judge Brooks acknowledged this to be one of the greatest disappointments of his long life, and he was ever after an opponent of the veto power. He had not anticipated opposition from that quarter, as he relied upon the concluding words of the Presidential message at the opening of Congress, where, after especially mentioning the desirability of roadways and canals, the President promised his "faithful coöperation in all measures having such objects."

During Judge Brooks' term in Congress he presented a resolution for a post-route from Canandaigua, by way of the village of Rochester, to the village of Lewiston. The resolution was carried, and thus through his efforts the first Government mail service was secured to Rochester. There was a special session of three days held on account of the election of James Monroe to the Presidency, and after that event Judge Brooks returned home quite determined to remain in his own State and devote himself to the interests of its improvement. On July 4th of that year Judge Brooks was in Rome, New York, witnessing De Witt Clinton, at the hour of sunrise, dig the first shovelful of earth towards the making of his "Great Ditch," as the Erie Canal was humorously styled.

Judge Brooks, upon his returning from Washington, resumed his position as judge of the Ontario county courts and also devoted himself to the reorganization of the militia—in a measure strongly recommended to Congress by President Madison in his message upon the opening of the Fourteenth Congress. So interested was he in the State militia that when resigning his position in public affairs and the judicial bench, which he had continuously held for almost a quarter of a century, he retained his military title until his decease.

In 1821 Judge Brooks was a delegate, with four others from Ontario county, to the Constitutional convention assembled in Albany for the purpose of revising the State constitution which continued in session from late in August until November.

In 1824 General Brooks filled the position of Presidential elector. While in Albany upon this occasion he had the satisfaction of seeing the boats of the Erie Canal enter the basin in that city, the route so far having been completed. The

entire State was jubilant over the fine flotilla that bore De Witt Clinton and others from its western beginning to its eastern terminus.

The "Seneca Chief"—the foremost of the canal boats, drawn by four magnificent gray horses splendidly caparisoned, was followed by others, each one being gorgeously decorated. One of these, called "Noah's Ark," contained a cargo of almost every specimen of fish, flesh and fowl in pairs, and two Indian boys in full costume. The "Seneca Chief" carried two highly ornamental kegs filled with Lake Erie water and bottles containing water from all parts of the world, all of which was to be emptied into the Atlantic ocean with appropriate ceremonies.

All along the route there had been great demonstrations at every village through which the flotilla passed, and likewise upon its arrival at the capital, after which a fleet of all the steam vessels on the Hudson towed it to New York City.

In 1823 the attention of Judge Brooks had been called to the great beauty of the land beyond the Genesee river and, with Mr. Jellis Clute and Mr. John B. Gibson, he purchased some seven thousand acres of land of Mary Jemison or Dehewauis of the Seneca Indians, perhaps better known by the descriptive appellation of the "White Woman."

The route to the General's new purchase from East Bloomfield, after crossing the Genesee river at Avon, lay through Can-a-nau-gus, the northernmost of the river towns, thence following the Seneca trail along the river southward, where, at Squakie Hill, near Mount Morris, it issues from the hills and passes through the Sardean Flats. This part of the Genesee valley was looked upon by the Indians as an earthly paradise and was called by them Jenishein—"The Beautiful Valley."

The spot chosen by General Brooks for his future residence was in the southeastern part of this "Beautiful Valley," on the the State road running from Squakie Hill to the Indian village of Ninda. The trail connecting these two Indian villages passed through the General's estate, in which it was crossed by another running from the Genesee river eastward. At the junction these two trails presented the appearance of beautiful grassy avenues bordered by forest trees.

In Scribner's Magazine, of the year 1880, there is a fine description of this beautiful locality, embracing the Portage Bridge and the estate of the Hon. William P. Letchworth.* That part of his estate in which General Brooks erected his residence is known as "Brooks Grove." When the cemetery of Mount Hope in Rochester was laid out the Judge purchased a lot on a commanding eminence overlooking the Genesee river, and there reposes the dust of his much loved wife and the mother of all his children—Mary Hall Brooks. Later on the Gen-

* This spot, through the generosity of Hon. Mr. Letchworth, is now a public park.

eral purchased a lot in the cemetery at Nunda, about three miles from Brooks Grove, and there he with his second wife—Elizabeth Chaltin Brooks—and several of his family are buried.

Although taking no active part in public life General Brooks carefully noted current events, watched the progress of important public improvements, which he was always ready to promote, and wrote upon such subjects as he took an interest in for the public press. In 1833 General Brooks purchased from the Holland Company a large tract of land embracing some six thousand three hundred and eighty-two acres, comprising the greater part of the township of Canadea. It was from this point that the Senecas took their departure for the famous massacre of Wyoming. It was to their log council-house in Canadea that brought Major Van Campen, whom they had captured there, and obliged him to run the gantlet.* The old council-house, which was the goal, was taken by Mr. Letchworth to his estate on the Genesee called Glen Iris, where it yet stands.

The prosperity through its usefulness of the Erie Canal made it apparent that its enlargement was a matter of paramount importance, and according to the desire of many business men and those interested in the growth and progress of the country a memorial was presented to the Legislature in the year 1833 by Mr. Henry O'Reilly, General Brooks' son-in-law, he being chairman of the executive committee of Rochester on canal affairs. The General and Mr. O'Reilly labored together to enthuse the public in regard to the matter. This great work of the improvement and enlargement of the Erie Canal was finally accomplished and was a potent factor in the increased prosperity of not alone New York State, but also of the grain-growing States west.†

Ever alive to the interests of the district he had formerly represented General Brooks, along with other citizens of western New York, became aware of the necessities of the southern tier of counties which, although having been taxed for the construction of the Erie Canal, had not participated in its benefits, and they entered heartily into the scheme of a railroad from Lake Erie to the metropolis. A successive series of meetings was held in the year 1839 along the proposed route for the projected railroad and General Brooks was called to preside over the one held in Cuba, Allegany County. The meeting was convened by Livingston, Cataraugus and Allegany Counties, the object being to debate upon the possibility of asking the State to assume the construction of the road. One hundred and five delegates from the said counties answered to their names, among whom was Colonel Lorenzo Brooks, eldest son of the General.

* Personal Recollections of Major Van Campen; Henry O'Reilly.

† The Rochester Daily Democrat of January 24, 1837, contains an able speech delivered by the General in favor of the enlargement and improvement of the Erie Canal before the convention held in that city to consider the project.

The proceedings of this convention were published in the *Olean Times* of February 9, 1839, and General Brooks' address upon the occasion appeared in an "extra" of the *Livingston County Republican* of February 28th. Extracts from this address were given in a paper read by J. S. Minard before the Rochester Historical Society May 8, 1891. They go to show how keenly alive was the General to the commercial and financial problems involved in the discussion upon the matter and how able he was to solve them.

This great enterprise was completed a decade of years later, the General's predictions were made good and a liberal aid was appropriated by the Legislature. General Brooks was one of the original stockholders of the railroad.

In 1840, when General Brooks' old friend and colleague, General William Henry Harrison, was nominated for the Presidency he gave him his warmest support and in 1844, when another of his old friends and a colleague also was brought forward as a candidate on the Whig ticket—his course seeming somewhat precarious—the general took the field and with voice and pen labored to the utmost of his strength—he being in his seventieth year—for his election. Clay was defeated, however, although New York alone would have elected him. The General was greatly disappointed in the result of this election, as he considered Mr. Clay one of the greatest of the statesmen of the time. In 1848 General Zachary Taylor, and in 1852 General W. Scott received his support, but not with the same degree of enthusiasm as did "Brave Harry of the West," for no man living at that time could so inspire his tongue and pen as had this early friend.

In the campaign of 1856, when his particular friend and early associate, Millard Fillmore, became the candidate of the American party he enlisted his efforts in his support, and although an octogenarian, he "actually took the stump" and exhibited much of his old-time force and vigor.

In regard to free schools General Brooks held conservative opinions, which were thought to be in accordance with the opinions of Gerret Smith.

He preserved everything that came in his way connected with the early history of the country and besides the books in his well stocked library he had a valuable collection of old deeds and contracts bearing the signatures of Indian sachems and many carrying the name of Mary Jemison, maps of various Indian reservations and tracts of land, as also piles of the early newspapers, for which he was a liberal subscriber and likewise a contributor for. Up to the end he constantly used his pen in the service of his country. Among his bound volumes were some forty English and Scotch encyclopaedias—in those times not common in America. It is attributable to his abstemious and regular habits, as well as to his acquired as well as inherited habit of self-control, that the General preserved unimpaired his vigorous powers of mind, his clear and unclouded intellect, retentive memory and vigorous will.

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During his eventful life a biographer has said the General had taken part in, and witnessed, the most remarkable changes that ever occurred in government, society, industry, science, and art, having lived in the most eventful period of human history since the Christian era. As a politician he was considered honest, candid, and fair in disputing, and firm and decided in expressing his convictions. His knowledge of the State of New York, as well as of our entire Nation, has been affirmed by a partisan to be without a parallel. It certainly was surprising.

After the organization of the general government he embraced the conservative sentiment, which at the time predominated, and he never altered his opinion. He was always earnest, active and persevering in putting it into action. One reason given for his influence over others has been his intense sympathy with humanity, which enabled him to understand each individual character and to make due allowance for human nature. His lessons to others were usually conveyed by example, by his untiring industry in all matters that called for his attention, his unostentatious and exemplary fulfilling of minor duties and his forbearing respect for those with whom he came in contact.

As a husband and father Micah Brooks was faithful and true. As a Christian his regard for the Divine law was manifest. His spirit was gentle yet just, and his benevolence unbounded.

His custom was to visit the home of his ancestors annually. He made it for the last time in the winter of 1856, stopping in Albany, as was his wont, to review old times with old friends. This time he delayed to hear Mr. Everett's oration on Washington, whose character he revered. On the Fourth of July, 1857, he was invited to speak at the celebration held at Nunda, near Brooks Grove, and while he conversed with his many friends they afterward recalled how memories of the past seemed to rise up before him and he spoke of events that had taken place before many of his hearers were born as though they were things that had recently occurred, and of the names of those great men that had preceded him to the better land as though they still belonged to the circle of his acquaintances, and, what was very remarkable, was that while dwelling upon the memory of one he believed still living—ex-Governor William L. Marcy—that great statesman was passing away. Little did those that heard him think that before the week should pass away he, too, should be an inmate of that land from whose bourne none ever return.

On the afternoon of July 7, 1857, the General left home for a short visit to Angelica and on his way he stopped to visit a married daughter. The General's custom was to visit his tenants occasionally in the other counties and he enjoyed driving, himself, in a buggy with a gentle horse who understood her master's habits very well. His family had never accustomed themselves to consider him an aged man, as, although slow in his movements and in his delivery,

he was still vigorous and there was as much fire in his eye as when he was the age of fifty. After greeting his daughter and grandchildren he leaned heavily back in his chair and with the name of his eldest daughter on his lips his spirit passed away without a struggle.*

The patriarch of Brooks Grove was laid in the family plot in the village of Nunda, where a monument of the finest quality of Quincy granite marks his last resting place.

The citizens of Nunda and residents around convened a meeting in the public hall to give expression to their sentiments of grief. After several addresses the following beautiful resolutions were adopted:

"Resolved, That we learn with deep regret the sudden death of our aged and distinguished fellow-citizen, General Micah Brooks.

"Resolved, That for more than half a century he has been identified with the growth and prosperity of the whole country, and of western New York particularly, and that during that time he has filled various offices of public trust, local, State and National, and that he has discharged them all with fidelity to the country and credit to himself, and exhibited in his life those traits of character which entitle him to our grateful remembrance and enduring regard.

"Resolved, That as a patriot he was above suspicion, as a soldier without stain; as a statesman he was incorruptible; to a friend warm and abiding in his attachments; and as a man and a citizen, a Christian and a neighbor, he was deservedly respected and honored.

"Resolved, That we sympathize with the bereaved family in their great affliction and tender them our heart-felt condolence.

"Resolved, That the Secretary be requested to present a copy of these resolutions to the family of the deceased and send copies to each of the journals of the county for publication.

"SAMUEL SKINNER,
"Chairman.

"E. M. PACKARD,
"Secretary."

One of the journals at the time of the General's death,† after mentioning the different positions he had held, stated that he had exercised a great influence in the early days of the State and the Republic and concludes with this eulogy:

"All of the great names associated with him in his early days have passed away—and he was left alone. Verily he has come down to us from a former

* Mrs. Henry O'Reilly.

† At the time of his death he had completed a full history of the Erie Canal from its conception to its completion and subsequent enlargement.

ONE OF THE NATION'S BUILDERS

generation. Full of years and honors his step was still firm, his eye undimmed and his memory unimpaired. . . . He learned to stand alone like an oak in its native forests. Time that had leveled to earth its fellows one by one, had long since checked its growth and impaired its vigor and by slow degrees was wasting its trunk away, yet still sound at the heart, when suddenly a meteor from heaven strikes this stately king of the forest and lays it low with the earth. From inclination his acts have been but little known to the public, but whoever shall examine his history and acts, will be surprised at the amount of labor he has performed, and the unacknowledged services he has rendered. . . .

"His life was gentle; and the elements so mixed in him, that nature might stand up and say to all the world—'This is a man!'"

In the year 1875, during the temporary absence of Mr. Wooster Brooks, a destructive fire occasioned not only the demolition of the deceased General's homestead at Brooks Grove, but likewise the destruction of most valuable historical documents and volumes of printed works that by the profusion of marked passages, marginal comments and criticisms, showed the tastes, inclinations and drift of his thoughts. His son regretted this loss far more than he did that of the house and furniture which might be replaced. His military uniform, worn in the war of 1812, his sword, his epaulettes, horse-pistols, and numerous other war implements, which the General had carefully preserved in an upper room, perished in the flames. All these relics were as sacred, silent voices that repeated the history of a father, a pioneer, a statesman and a patriot.

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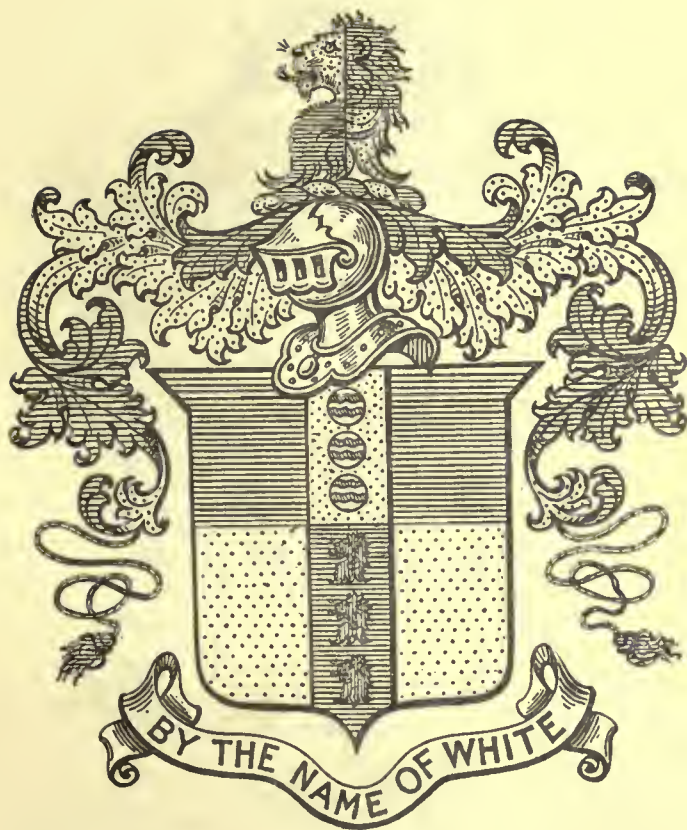
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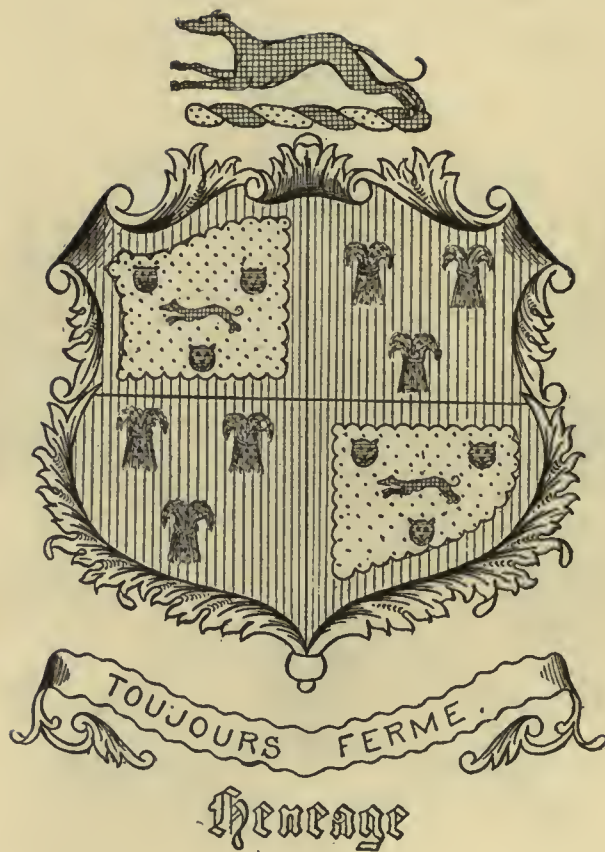
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HENEAGE COAT-ARMOR QUARTERED WITH PRESTON
John Heneage, who died in 1473, married Eleanor Preston. A
descendant came to New York in the Seventeenth Century.



Fulnetby

ARMS OF THE FULNETBY FAMILY

The Fulnetbys, who were an old family of Lincolnshire, in England, have many descendants in Maryland and Virginia.



Proctor



THE SENATE HOUSE AT KINGSTON



WHERE THE DUTCH SETTLERS OF KINGSTON WORSHIPPED
"The fine old stone church, with its stained-glass windows, decorated with Coats-of-Arms, and its
Baptistry in front"



THE OLD ACADEMY, KINGSTON, NEW YORK
Fired by the British, it still stands, as restored



THE DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH, KINGSTON, NEW YORK
Surrounded by the graves of the early residents of Kingston this edifice stands on the site of the old church erected by the Dutch settlers

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THIRD QUARTER

The Burning of Kingston

BY
MARY ISABELLA FORSYTH



IT HAS BEEN STATED that the burning of Kingston, New York, by the British in 1777 was due to the firing from the redoubt at the mouth of the Rondout Creek. This redoubt was located on or near the site of the trading post of 1610, where tradition states a fort was erected in 1614, as authorized by the States General.

But while this firing, at a time when the British commander was stung by reports of repeated disasters to Burgoyne's army, may have led to the landing of troops and the overpowering of the garrison, the real causes of the burning of the town lie farther back. They can be found in brave little Holland, whose standards and principles were those of the inhabitants of Kingston from its settlement in 1652 until long after the American Revolution. Indeed, these remain still, to some extent.

The first English settler, Thomas Chambers, and a Norwegian, Jacobus Bruyn, proved to be in thorough sympathy with the Dutch colonists; while the Huguenots coming later blended with them to such a degree that language, cus-

toms, mode of thought were those of Holland. Church services were held in the Dutch language until 1808. And the standards of civil and religious liberty for which Holland had fought—and won—so long before, were those of her descendants in New Netherland.

"Taxation only by consent," established in Holland even in the Fifteenth Century, was claimed as a right in Esopus, as the region about Kingston was called, when the English rule brought in new and trying conditions. This right was guaranteed in 1683. When England's failure to recognize it led to an appeal to arms, there was no hesitation here!

Descendants of Hasbroucks, who had borne the standard of their family in the Crusades, of Norsemen who knew no fear, kindred of the De Witts martyred at The Hague, and of many other heroes, sprang to arms almost as an entire community. The story has come down through succeeding generations that every able-bodied man promptly served the patriot cause. Records show that the sentiment was practically unanimous. Some were serving in councils of the State, some in the Continental army, some in the militia.

Jacobus Severyn Bruyn, a student at Princeton College, promptly raised a Company at Kingston, equipped it at his own expense, and led it as Captain to the storming of Quebec, where, when Montgomery fell, he was by his side. He was among the first and last defenders of Fort Montgomery, and was there taken prisoner, sword in hand.

A New Yorker, Lefferts by name, temporarily residing at what is still known as Komoxon (its Indian name), was known to be a Tory. But from Kingston and the surrounding region, out through Hurley, New Paltz, Marbletown, Mamakating (now in Sullivan County), New Marlborough, and Rochester, came signatures to what is still known as the "Ulster County Roll of Honor," pledging allegiance "under all the ties of religion, honor and love to our country" to "whatever measures may be recommended by the Continental Congress, or resolved upon by our Provincial Convention." And from these same townships came many to join those at Kingston, prepared to lay down their lives, if need be, for the patriot cause.

It was not alone, then, the firing from the redoubt that called forth the vengeance of the British commander. He sought the town where, only three months before, the inauguration of Governor Clinton had taken place, and had been followed by the shout of "God save the people!" instead of "God save the King!"

In one of the buildings he was about to fire, the State Constitution had been framed. In Kingston had convened the first Senate and the first Court of this daring new State. It was, therefore, as a fierce retaliation for this whole heroic record that the capital of the State was fired. General Vaughan's own words

THE BURNING OF KINGSTON

corroborate this, when he called Kingston "a nest of rebels, a nursery for almost every villain in the country."

Until after the surrender of the forts in the Highlands and the severing of the chain and bombs, Kingston was regarded as exceptionally secure from attack.

Still, in the summer of 1777, it was realized that, with the number of its troops at distant posts, no adequate protection remained, in case any attack should occur. In August, a letter from the Council of Safety stated this,—showing that levies were nearly all completed here, and in the service of the government,—“None of our sister States having yet completed the levies directed by Congress.” The letter closes with a thrilling assurance that they would “neglect no measures (however burdensome), if within our reach, but that if no aid could be given all would do their utmost and make the best possible defense.”

Orders were given by the Council to load vessels with flour, wheat, or any other provisions, near the shores of the river and send the loaded vessels to Albany, also directing the driving away or killing of live stock, to guard it against falling into the hands of the enemy.

The confident expectation of General Vaughan is shown by the opening sentence of a letter to General Burgoyne, dated October 8th: “*Nous y voici*, and nothing now between us but Gates.”

On October 15th the Governor wrote to the Council of Safety: “The enemy’s fleet, consisting of thirty sail, has passed Newburgh and with crowded sail and fair wind is moving quickly up the river. The front of them is already at the Danskammer—There are eight large square rigged vessels among them and all appear to have troops on board. My troops are parading to Kingston. . . . Let the militia be drawn out, ready to oppose the enemy. I will be with you if nothing extra happens before day, though my troops cannot.”

The troops reached the hill overlooking Kingston, and still called Keykout—“Lookout,” only to see the smoke and flames rising from the desolate village, and the invaders on their way to the river.

On the 15th, at five p. m., the alarm sounded, giving notice that the enemy’s fleet had appeared off Esopus Island.

About nine on the morning of the 16th the enemy began cannonading the *Lady Washington* galley and the batteries on the heights at Ponkhockie. Five pieces of cannon were in the earthworks, a thirty-two-pounder in the galley. But the firing had little effect except to delay the landing of the enemy. At about one o’clock a division of these, or four hundred men, landed and charged the small garrison with the bayonet. The defenders remained until the last possible moment, then spiked their guns and with a few wounded men withdrew up the creek, firing as they retreated.

Three houses were burned, also the prison ships and some sloops. A quan-

tity of powder on one vessel exploded and injured one officer and some of his men. The *Lady Washington* was run up the creek and scuttled.

The main body of troops landed at Columbus Point, meeting the other division at the junction of what is now Broadway and Delaware Avenue, to join in attacking the old town.

Tradition says that Lefferts, the Tory, met General Vaughan in this vicinity and told him of the surrender of Burgoyne. It also states that a slave was impressed as a guide along the wooded road, from what is still known as Wiltwyck, to the doomed Capital.

About where the City Hall now stands a little band had gathered as defenders. Whether they fired or not was of no moment—onward marched the enemy. The estimate of their number ranges from one thousand one hundred to three thousand. Word of their approach was hurried through the streets: "Lope, younge, lope—die Roye komme! Lope bei Hurley out!"* (Hurley lies three miles back, and was alluded to in 1663 as the new "dorp" or village, when, at that date, it was burned by Indians.)

Hurriedly, wagons were filled with women and children, and men too old for active service, and a sad and helpless procession began to move. Some took time to bury a few treasures before starting on that solemn exit from what has been called "a town of homes."

From the garden of the Bruyn homestead, at the corner of Crown and North Front Streets, was dug up long afterwards an "Apostle's spoon," apparently of Norwegian metal.

In a Loan Exhibit at the Daughters of the American Revolution Chapter House at Kingston were shown a large china dish,—buried to save it from destruction by the British; also a cannon ball, fired by the enemy upon a quaint stone house on Pearl Street. It was found in the walls when taken down some years ago. This speaks for itself of the violence of the attack upon the defenceless village.

Not far away is still to be found what was the tavern of Conrad Elmendorf, where the convention to guard the town had been sitting, up to the last possible moment. This was fired, as was also the Bogardus tavern, on the opposite corner—long since taken down—where the State Constitution was framed. It stood, as restored, for about three-quarters of a century, and was spoken of as the "Constitution House."

On a neighboring corner was the home of Judge Dirck Wynkoop, where were kept the county papers. This was only partially burned, and is, as rebuilt, the home of the Misses Forsyth. The papers were rescued by young Mr. Bancker, and presumably thus was saved the wampun belt given by the Indians as a token of friendship, and now in the County Clerk's office.

* "Run, children, run—the royalists come! Run to Hurley!"



THE HOME OF JOHANNIS SLEGHT, WHEN KINGSTON WAS BURNED, IN 1777
Here, in later generations, lived descendants of Christopher Tappen and his wife, the latter of whom
saved the New York State Records from the flames



THE OLD KINGSTON COURT HOUSE

Across what is now Fair Street, near the church, was the large stone house of the Widow Mary Crooke Elmendorph. She had hoped to appease the enemy by having a substantial meal ready for them. They ate it, it is said, and then burned the house. When this word reached Mrs. Elmendorph in Hurley, a slave said this could not be, for she had the key in her pocket. Strange to say, in this connection, this ruin was never restored, as were most of the houses, the stone of which they were built to some extent resisting the flames. It was, however, so far repaired that the family of Cornelius Wynkoop took refuge there after the burning. One of his children handed down the story to later generations that when terrible noises would startle the household on a windy night, the mother would say: "Don't be frightened, children. It is only part of the house falling down."

Then came the fine old stone church, with its stained-glass windows, decorated with Coats-of-Arms, and its Baptistry in front, signifying the reception of the new-born infant, as "a baptized member of the Church." This, too, was ruthlessly fired, as was the ancient Court House, on the site of the present building.

Opposite the Court House was a stone house, belonging to Benjamin Low, whose wife had taken in, out of pity, a stranger, who asked for shelter on the ground of illness. Mr. Low suspected him at once as being a British spy. When the sick man had been cured, this suspicion became a certainty, and would have led to his capture had not Mrs. Low's compassion prevailed. She allowed the stranger to escape, refusing a proffered bag of gold, but pleading that Kingston should not be burned. Later, she saw the stranger at the head of the troops engaged in firing the town. She always believed, however, that he had kept his promise to protect her house and that it had caught from the general conflagration. Mrs. Low had prepared to leave by having her silver spoons close at hand while ironing. But when she left in haste her spoons were forgotten.

Another Mrs. Low left her silver in the custody of a lady who was boarding with her and who claimed to be able—as the wife of a British officer—to protect what was left in her charge. On the contrary, the soldiers, in reply to her plea, shouted out: "You will all claim to be British officers' wives now!" They threw her chest in the street, took all of value it contained, and carried the daughter with them as far as the Academy, the mother following, screaming. There they tore out the daughter's earrings and let her go.

The Academy then had ninety pupils for the higher branches of education. It stands still, as restored, with houses opposite that shared with it the common fate. In one of these, the home of the late Judge Schoonmaker, charred beams were still found when repairs were made some years ago.

The State Records were in the home of Christopher Tappen, a delegate to the Provincial Congress and a member of the Committee of Safety. In his absence, these valuable records were saved by his wife, who carried them out in the skirt

of her dress, leaving important family papers to burn. This dress of Mrs. Tappen was in the Loan Exhibit at the Daughters of the American Revolution Chapter House. This house is one of the oldest in the town, and is shown on a map of the place drawn in 1695.

The Hoffman house (now owned by the Salvation Army) was one of the first houses built in "Esopus," and stood at the hornwork of the stockade erected in 1658. It will be remembered that, up to that time, relations with the Indians, from whom the Dutch invariably bought their land, had been so friendly that no such protection had been needed. It was only the use of the "fire water," which was wholly new to their race, that led to trouble with the original owners of "the Esopus."

Every house except one within the limits of the stockade was left uninhabitable,—the massive stone walls roofless and partially crumbled, the wood work burned away almost entirely. The one exception still stands marked with a tablet by Wiltwyck Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution. One tradition as to its being saved, although fired—and probably the correct one—is that it was fired just before the recall for the troops sounded, and that the slaves, hidden near, returned and extinguished the fire.

Another theory is that the presence in the house of a charming young lady, who had met the British commander when in New York, served as a protection.

In all there were burned, so far as records show, one hundred and sixteen houses, one hundred and three barns, two school houses, the academy, forty-six barracks, seventeen store houses or shops, besides the Court House and the church.

Forty-one of these stone houses still stand as rebuilt on their ruins.

And in the old churchyard are found over fifty graves of soldiers of the American Revolution, the markers in some cases showing the heroic record, where the headstones have almost crumbled away.

No words can fittingly express the devastation wrought in two hours on that bright October afternoon! And this, too, when the brilliant hues of the foliage, the crisp air told that winter was at hand.

It is no wonder that sympathy was widely felt and generously shown. Every house in the vicinity was thrown open to the sufferers. Chancellor Livingston donated for them, when his own house was burned, five thousand acres of land. And far-away Charleston, South Carolina, when suffering from the effects of a terrible fire, sent, "to alleviate the distresses of the now indigent inhabitants of the town of Kingston, who by the ravages of the enemy were reduced to poverty and want," a sum equal in New York currency to £927,17,6. This has made South Carolina for all time, indeed, a sister State.

Perhaps the most vivid account of that afternoon of agony is given in the journal of Colonel Abraham Hasbrouck, which also shows the spirit and the ardent faith of his Huguenot father, one of the patentees of New Paltz.

"October 16, 1777. Then the enemy under the command of General Henry Clinton and General Vaughan came to Kingston in Esopus, and burnt my dwelling-house, barn, cider-house or storehouse, and another barn and wagon house at my late dwelling house, and also a small out-kitchen which was left standing when my dwelling house was burnt down the 23rd of October, 1776. And the enemy burnt all the houses, barns (except one house and barn) in the town, church and county house, likewise laid everything in rubbish of ashes—fences and everything they came to. And they carried away with them one negro man named Harry, two negro wenches, Jenny and Flora, and destroyed all my household goods and furniture and my library of books. My loss I sustained this time, I compute no less than five thousand pounds at least—and the house I had in New York burnt by the enemy last year, or in the year 1776. My house was worth one thousand pounds and the house I lost by accident by fire the 23rd of October, 1776, merchandise of several sorts, household goods and furniture, tools and utensils and farmers' implements, I lost then at least between three thousand pounds and four thousand pounds. I have lost since the fire in New York, 1776, until this time, between nine thousand and ten thousand pounds. Thanks be to God for his great goodness, I, my wife and children escaped and unhurt out of the enemy's hands. Yet my sons Jacobus, Abraham and Daniel were in the opposing of the enemy from landing, and to oppose them to come to Kingston, and showers of shot flew on every side of them. I pray the Lord will support me under so heavy a trial and must say with Job "The Lord hath given and the Lord hath taken—the Lord's name may be praised."

We end this record of desolation by the closing lines of a ballad that tells the story of Kingston's heroic struggle, beginning to quote at the place where the homeless inhabitants are described when moving towards Hurley.

"The last who turned a backward glance saw through the sunny air
The gleam of British bayonets, a sudden, awful glare.
The assailants marched with torch in hand, black smoke in volumes rose
From homes for generations dear, the prey of ruthless foes.

"In one rude cellar—still the house stands solidly today—
In sorest pangs of motherhood a youthful matron lay.
Above her, burning beams crashed down, and sounds of trampling feet
Were mingled with tumultuous shouts, the uproar of the street.

"That day was kindled such a flame as nothing can assuage.
Upon the town a martyr's crown doth rest from age to age.
This, this, the climax—winter's snows already chilled the air—
Yet 'neath accumulated woes none yielded to despair.

"The homes in Hurley opened wide, and all the country round
Received the homeless fugitives with sympathy profound.
E'en welcome, succor, human aid were secondary things,
The patriot hearts were calmly stayed beneath Almighty wings.

"It may be, when October brings its glowing, gladdening days,
When town and hillside seem aflame, bright hued 'midst tender haze,
One watching ere the sad sixteenth, expectant through the night,
In Kingston's churchyard might behold a weird, mysterious sight.

"Dim forms of earlier times seem there, a shadowy, ghostly throng
(Too rarely do their names appear in history or song),
A common impulse bringing all, the mistress and the slave,
The dead from ancient battlefields, fair maidens, statesmen grave—

"Who bore so gallantly their part, the simple as the great,
In brave old Kingston—This they plead, "We helped to make the State."
(We hear it not with outward ear,—it thrills the silence through)—
" 'Remember, this has cost us dear—its future rests *with you.*' "





THE OLD STONE CHURCH AT KINGSTON, AS REBUILT AFTER THE REVOLUTION



MOUNT HOOD, WASHINGTON

The Boundary Dispute Between Washington and Oregon

BY

GEORGE COWLES LAY

Member of the New York Historical Society



IN THIS CASE the controversy related to the boundary between these States at the mouth of the Columbia River. The State of Washington in 1908 claimed that her southern boundary was the middle of the main channel of the Columbia River, upon the ground that when Washington was established as a Territory in 1853 her area was described as all that portion of the Oregon Territory lying north of the main channel of the Columbia River.

Washington Irving in "Astoria" gives the following account of the discovery and naming of the Columbia River: "Among the American ships which traded along the northwest coast in 1792 was the *Columbia*, Captain Gray, of Boston. In the course of her voyage she discovered the mouth of a large river in latitude 46° 19' north. Entering it with some difficulty on account of sand bars and breakers, she came to anchor in a spacious bay, which continues to bear his name. Van Couver visited the river and his lieutenant, Broughton, explored it by the aid of Captain Gray's chart, ascending it upwards of one hundred miles until within view of a snowy mountain, to which he gave the name of Mt. Hood (11,225 feet), which it still retains. The existence of this river, however, was known long before the visits of Gray and Van Couver, but the information concerning it was vague and indefinite, being gathered from the reports of Indians."

When Oregon was admitted to the Union, however, on February 19, 1859, her northern boundary was described as running from a point one marine league due west and opposite the middle of the *north* ship channel of the Columbia, easterly to and up the middle channel of said river, and where it is divided by islands up the middle of the widest channel thereof to a point near Walla Walla.

Upon the admission of the State of Washington on November 11, 1889, her Constitution described her boundary on the south in almost the same language as in the act admitting Oregon. The starting point in the Pacific Ocean was stated to be one marine league west of and opposite the middle of the *mouth of the north* ship channel.

At the time of the admission of Oregon there were two ship channels at the mouth of the Columbia River, one called the north and the other the south

* 211 U. S., 127; 214 U. S., 205.

channel. The north channel was then safer and more generally used, but in the course of time became so choked up with accretions of sand that it was not available for vessels of deep draft, and the south channel became the main channel.

Washington's contention was that her boundary under these conditions followed the line of the south channel, thus extending her jurisdiction and territorial rights over Sand Island and over a larger area at the mouth of the Columbia River.

Oregon claimed, on the other hand, that the boundary between Oregon and Washington was irrevocably fixed by the Act of Congress admitting Oregon, and by the Constitution of Washington, as a line running easterly from a point opposite the north ship channel and necessarily through that channel, and so the Supreme Court of the United States held.

The physical conditions existing at the mouth of the Columbia River are so extraordinary as to merit particular mention.

Washington Irving has described these conditions in these words:

"The aspect of the river and the adjacent coast was wild and dangerous. The mouth of the Columbia is upwards of four miles wide, with a peninsula and promontory on one side and a long, low spit of land on the other, between which a sand bar and chain of breakers almost block up the entrance. The interior of the country rises into successive ranges of mountains, which were covered with snow.

"A fresh wind from the northwest sent a rough, tumbling sea upon the coast, which broke upon the bar in furious surges and extended a sheet of foam almost across the mouth of the river.

"The Columbia, or Oregon, for the distance of thirty or forty miles from its entrance into the sea, is, properly speaking, a mere estuary, indented by deep bays so as to vary from three to seven miles in width; and is rendered extremely intricate and dangerous by shoals reaching nearly from shore to shore on which, at times, the winds and currents produce foaming and tumultuous breakers."

In 1884 the United States Government authorized the construction of a jetty, four and a half miles long, to cost nearly two millions of dollars, to improve the harbor at the mouth of the Columbia River.* The entrance to the harbor before the improvements by the United States Government was attended by such danger and delay on account of the shallow and shifting channels that the harbor

* Lieut. Hegardt states in his Report that: All harbors on the Pacific coast, except those on Puget and Washington Sounds, are bar harbors, which in most cases have been or are now being improved by the jetty system. Prior to the improvement of the entrances to the Columbia River there existed upon the entire ocean shore line of the States of California, Oregon and Washington, from the southern limit of California to Cape Flattery, the entrance to the straits of Juan de Fuca, a distance of 1,200 miles, only one first-class harbor, that of San Francisco. The only other harbor is at the mouth of the Columbia River, which is important not only on account of the growing industrial and commercial interests of the Pacific coast, but also for its strategic position from a military and naval point of view, as a base of operations communicating with the interior by several great railroad systems. Report to the War Department, October 14, 1899.



ENTRANCE OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER.
Ship Tonquin, crossing the bar, 25th March, 1811.

had a bad reputation among underwriters and seafaring men. The depth of her bar channel was so slight that vessels of deep draft could not cross except on a smooth bar, and were often held "bar bound" for weeks at a time. The violent winds from the south and southeast were usually accompanied and followed by a heavy swell which breaks with such great force on the coast that vessels of a greater draft than nineteen feet were compelled to wait for the coincidence of a smooth bar and the spring tide. Before the construction of the jetty the depth of the bar channel was twenty to twenty-one feet, but after the building of the jetty the channel depth was increased from twenty-four feet in 1890 to thirty-one feet in 1895.

The increase of depth of the channel did not, however, prevent vexatious detentions at the mouth of the river in the years from 1895 to 1899, chiefly occurring in the stormy winter season from rough weather.* In the years from 1895 to 1902 there was a gradual decrease of depth in the harbor. In 1898 the channel had decreased to twenty-nine feet; in 1899 it was only twenty-eight feet, and in 1902 the depth of the channel at low water was twenty-one feet.

In 1900 a further extension of the jetty seaward two and a half miles was authorized by Congress, and the work proceeded until, in July, 1911, the jetty had been constructed over two miles further and the amount expended had reached nearly seven millions of dollars. The result of the improvement has been the increase of about nine feet in depth since the adoption of the plan.†

The mouth of the Columbia River has long been celebrated for its salmon fishery, a source of food supply to the Indians in early days and of commercial value to fishermen in modern times.

The real controversy between Washington and Oregon was not so much over Sand Island, which was little more than a bar and of no value, but over such jurisdiction of the waters of the Columbia River as would give to the citizens of Washington greater rights in the salmon fishery. In the lower Columbia River there were many shoals and sands, besides Sand Island, which are very valuable as sites for fishing appliances. Shortly after its admission into the Union, the State of Washington, under its laws, disposed of these lands and the owners used them for fishing purposes. For some time the title of the owners was not questioned. Later, however, persons claiming title under the State of Oregon asserted ownership. The boundary suit was instituted to settle the title to these shoals.

It appears that Oregon, by an Act of Legislature, prohibited the use of purse nets and seines for catching salmon in any of the rivers of the State or of the Columbia River, or in the Pacific Ocean within three miles of the mouths of any of such rivers. Washington, on the other hand, authorized the use of purse

* Capt. Langfitt, of the Corps of Engineers, in his Report of November 6, 1899, states: "It is estimated that a vessel crossing the bar should have under her keel from 10 to 12 feet in rough weather, from which it is seen that for modern ships forty feet is none too great a depth. Every ship coming to Portland or Astoria must cross this bar, and it is the ocean connection for all territory tributary to these ports. This country is rich, growing in wealth and commerce, and promises to be, if not already, one of the great exporting and importing districts in connection with trade to the Orient."

† Annual Report of the Chief of Engineers to the Secretary of War, October 14, 1911.



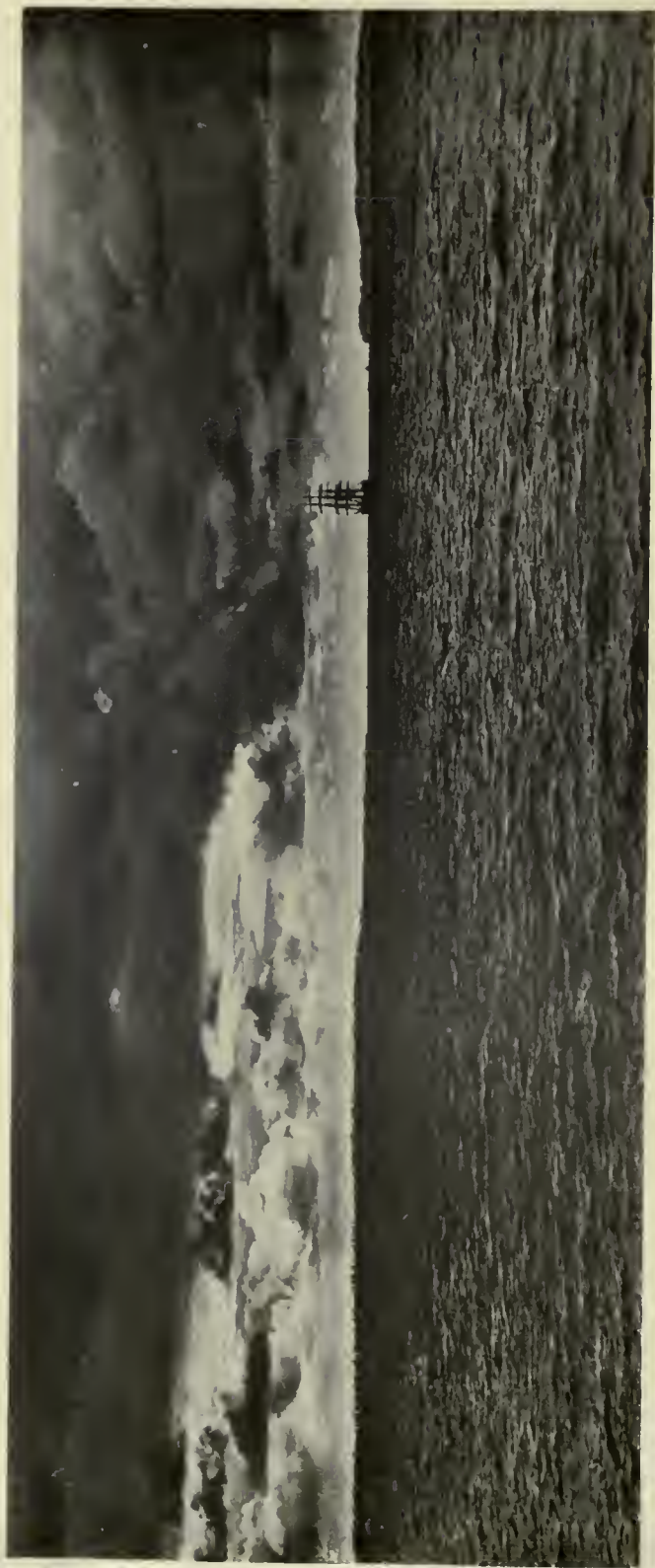
MOUNT HOOD, FROM NEAR VANCOUVER, COLUMBIA RIVER



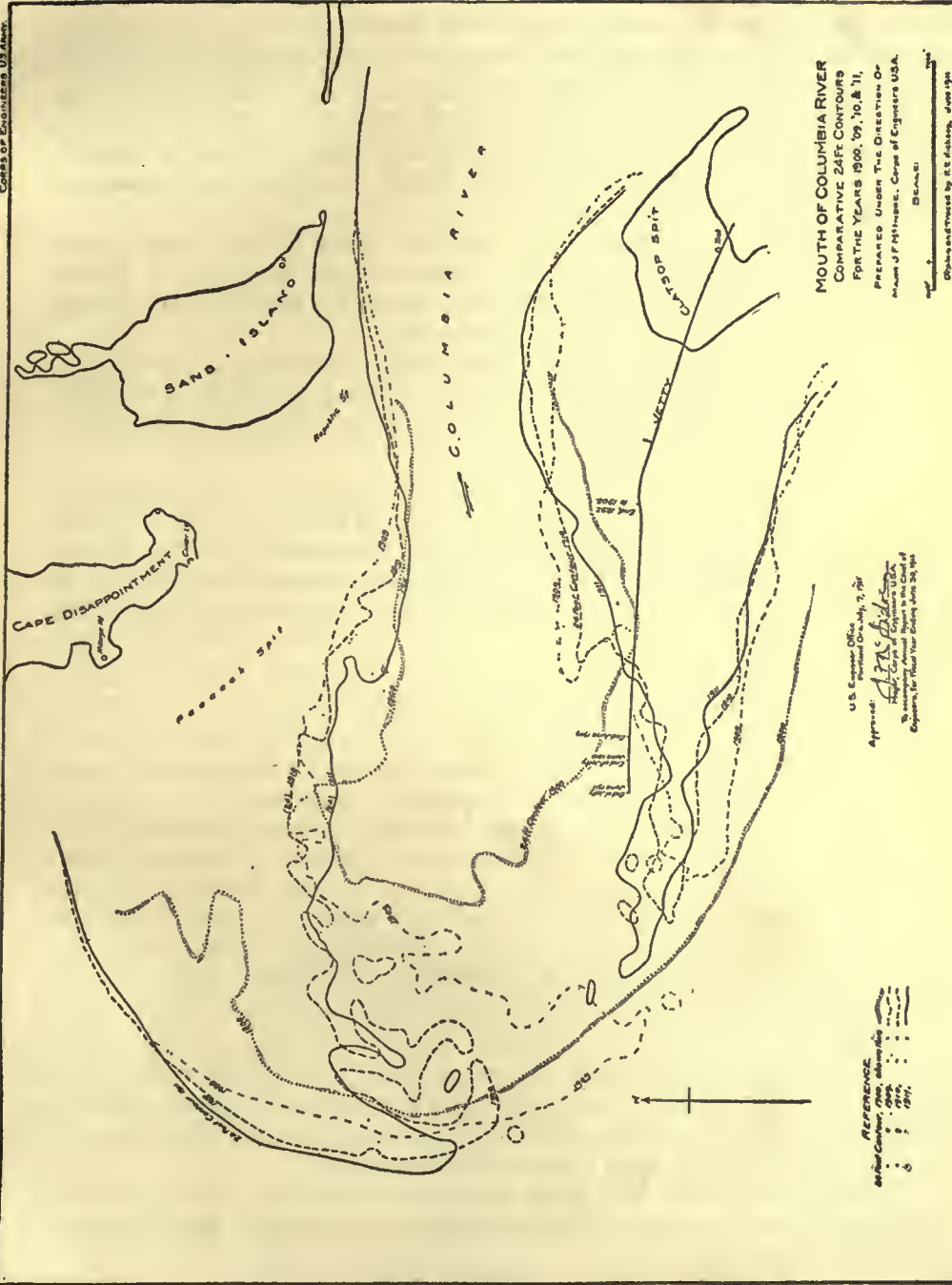
COLUMBIA RIVER JETTY AT ASTORIA, OREGON



COLUMBIA RIVER JETTY, LOOKING OUT TO SEA



THE COLUMBIA RIVER



MAP SHOWING THE MOUTH OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER

nets in all the waters of the State with certain exceptions, but the Columbia River was not included in the exceptions. So that Oregon prohibited in the Columbia River what Washington permitted, and there was a dispute between the States when Oregon caused the arrest and conviction of a fisherman who was taking salmon by a seine in the Columbia River, although he was concededly within the limits of Washington and acting under a license from the Fish Commissioner of Washington.

The conviction was annulled by a decision of the United States Supreme Court, on the ground that the State of Oregon could not punish a man for operating a purse net in the Columbia River within the limits of his own State under a license issued by his own State authorities.*

The purpose of the suit over the boundary was to extend the territorial jurisdiction of the State of Washington and thus create a wider field for the development and control of its fisheries and settle the title to the shoals claimed by citizens of the respective States.

In October, 1864, Oregon passed an act making a grant to the United States of "all right and interest of the State of Oregon in and to the land in front of Fort Stevens and Point Adams situate in this State and subject to overflow between high and low tide, and also to Sand Island, situate at the mouth of the Columbia River in this State, the said island being subject to overflow between high and low tide."

The United States Supreme Court, construing the acts fixing the boundaries of Oregon and Washington and the Act of Oregon ceding Sand Island to the United States, held that the middle of the north channel of the river was the true boundary, which was not subject to change because the north channel became more shallow and less adapted for the purposes of navigation.

The Court laid great stress upon the language of the act admitting Oregon as a State, which fixed her northern boundary as the middle of the north channel, and declared that the Courts had no power to change the boundary thus prescribed and establish it at the middle of some other channel. It was true, said the Court, the middle of the north ship channel might vary through the processes of accretion, it might narrow in width, it might become more shallow, and yet the middle of that channel would remain the boundary. To hold that the south channel was the true boundary would lead to confusion, for, if by accretion the north should again become the main channel the boundary would revert to the center of that channel, and so the boundary would move from one channel to the other according to which was, for the time being, the most important and most generally used.

The Court summed up its position in these words:

"These considerations lead to the conclusion that when in a great river like the Columbia, there are two substantial channels and the proper authorities have

* *Nelson vs. Oregon*, 212 U. S., 315.

THE BOUNDARY DISPUTE BETWEEN WASHINGTON AND OREGON

named the centre of one channel as the boundary between the States bordering on that river, the boundary, as thus prescribed, remains the boundary subject to the changes in it which come by accretion, and is not moved to the other channel, although the latter in the course of years becomes the most important and properly called the main channel of the river."

Upon a petition by the State of Washington for a rehearing, it was claimed by Washington that the act admitting Oregon provided that the boundary, beginning at a point opposite the middle of the north ship channel, continued thence easterly to and up the middle channel of said river, *and, where it is divided by islands, up the middle of the widest channel* to a point near Fort Walla Walla.

There were two islands, known as Desdemona Sands and Snag Island, which it was claimed came within the jurisdiction of Washington.

But the Court held that the channel, after leaving Sand Island, ran at a point north and east of Desdemona Sands, and that, as Oregon had conveyed Snag Island to individuals in 1877 and Washington never questioned or interfered with the jurisdiction of Oregon over Snag Island, the boundary ran north and east of these islands which, therefore, came within the territorial limits of Oregon.

The Court recommended that the States involved in the dispute, with the consent of Congress, enter into a compact or agreement, as was done by Mississippi and Arkansas in 1909, and thus adjust the appropriate boundaries and jurisdiction between the States.





✦ LLOYD ✦

The Rooster:

Its Origin as the Emblem of the Democratic Party

BY

JOHN FOWLER MITCHELL, JR.

Associate Editor of The Journal of American History

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AT THE CLOSE of a most notable campaign in American history, when a Democratic victory has swept the country from coast to coast, it is fitting that the story of the origin of the party's emblem—the Rooster—be told in this little volume, for it was in the heart of Indiana, in a pioneer campaign back in 1840 that the proud bird came into its own. To be more exact, the emblem's birthplace was Greenfield, Hancock County, Indiana, and its originator Mr. Joseph Chapman, one of her famous sons.

By those who have followed Indiana's literary history it will be remembered that Greenfield is the birthplace and home of the beloved Hoosier Poet, Mr. James Whitcomb Riley, and we shall see in the development of this story how the poet is indirectly connected with the Chapmans.

Greenfield, in 1840, was scarcely a town,—merely a little settlement of pioneers whose huts, built upon the National Road, basked in the summer sun, with the occasional rumbling of a stage coach and the muffled note of the woodman's axe to break the monotony of her drowsy simplicity.

In the pioneer communities the tavern was the center of social life and interest, and Greenfield was no exception to the rule. Strange to say, Greenfield's first tavern, built in 1834, by Joseph Chapman, the originator of the Democratic emblem, stands today in a fair state of preservation. Apropos to this, with your pardon, I will add that my great-grandfather, Mr. James B. Hart, purchased the old tavern from Chapman and sold it to the Goodings, who are its present owners.

The tavern was headquarters for the Democracy of this part of Indiana and it was here that the political career of Chapman had its beginning.

Joseph Chapman was an honest, sincere man, gifted with a pleasing personality, a convincing tongue, and a wit remembered to this day for its keenness. His personality expressed itself in every movement at the opening of Hancock County's history, and the debt this particular section of Indiana owes to Joseph Chapman, had he not given us the Democratic emblem, is indeed great, for he was an efficient county officer, a legislator, an orator and a soldier.

Mr. Chapman was a native of the Buckeye State and lived for several years in Rush County, Indiana, before coming to Hancock County in 1829. He was twice married; first to Miss Jane Curry, by whom he had six children; the second time to Miss Matilda Agnes, by whom he had five children. His first wife is buried in the old cemetery in Greenfield. He was elected Clerk of the County in 1832 and representative in the lower house of the Legislature in 1837, 1839, 1841, 1842, and 1843.

From the very beginning of his political career he was the most optimistic politician then stumping the country and this characteristic was always associated with Chapman. At the beginning of each campaign Chapman claimed every county in the State. He was a spellbinder of note and would, by one of his characteristic speeches, put new life and new hope into a section or community that was overwhelmingly Whig. This sort of thing today would be called boasting, but to the men of the early period it was "crowing." Especially did the opposing party,—the Whigs,—dub Chapman's original style of oratory—"crowing." Despite this fact Chapman's style was effective; so much so that he was sent into doubtful sections and always succeeded in securing a Democratic victory.

A picturesque and interesting character was this Joseph Chapman, of Greenfield, and a Democrat of the Jacksonian type, a man of the people.

The period of which I write was the famous "Log Cabin and Hard Cider Campaign" of 1840, and it was at this time that the Democrats chose for their National emblem the Rooster. It was the first National campaign after the panic of 1837 and the Whigs were encouraged by the coming of many Democrats to their ranks. These Democrats believed that by the changing of the party in power better times would follow. The Democrats had selected Martin Van Buren to lead them in the approaching campaign. The Whigs held their convention in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, and William Henry Harrison and John Tyler were chosen as their leaders. General Harrison was at one time Governor of Indiana Territory and by his brilliant military victories at Tippecanoe, and other Indian strongholds in Indiana, was a popular military hero in the Hoosier State. No doubt many older men will remember the campaign song of "Tippecanoe and Tyler too." The Democrats had been in power several years and the possibility of electing Van Buren was indeed discouraging. However, the depressing situation did not dampen the ardor of Joseph Chapman, who remained as optimistic as of yore.

Joseph Chapman, at this time, was a candidate for representative in the Legislature against Thomas D. Walpole, the most brilliant Whig in Eastern Indiana, and his personal campaign was one of the most complete in his career.

Early in the campaign the two candidates announced that they would travel together and speak from the same platform, as was customary at that time. Arrangements had been made for a great celebration in the north central part of the State and both candidates were to be there, Mr. Walpole speaking to the

people from the standpoint of a Whig and Mr. Chapman advocating Democratic principles.

Mr. Walpole was a man most particular about his personal appearance and always appeared in a well tailored suit and a ruffled shirt. This subjected him to a great deal of public criticism from Chapman, the Democrat, who styled him "a fop in a ruffled shirt." The night before this meeting Mr. Chapman gave his home-spun shirt to the wife of the tavern keeper to be laundered and ready for him the next morning. During the night, unfortunately, the shirt was stolen from the line and the Democratic candidate spent the greater part of the morning in bed. His opponent kindly offered one of his ruffled shirts but Chapman would not think of appearing in such attire. Mr. Walpole insisted, explaining that the neck could be turned under and his coat buttoned over the ruffles. As there was no alternative Chapman fell into the trap.

The Whig candidate spoke first, closing his address with the usual criticism of the Democratic party. Mr. Chapman followed with a denouncement equally as bitter against the Whigs, also calling the attention to the frailty of a candidate who unfailingly appeared in a ruffled shirt. After Mr. Chapman had concluded the young attorney, Walpole, stepped again before the people and said he was not in favor of putting a man in office who was an impostor, declaring, "This Democrat has criticised me for wearing a ruffled shirt. Now, gentlemen, behold his ruffled shirt!" at the same time throwing open the front of Chapman's coat. However, we can forgive Walpole for this, at later he left the Whigs and became a Democrat.

Mr. George Pattison at this time was the editor of "The Constitution," a Democratic newspaper published in Indianapolis. It is quite evident that unencouraging reports of the situation in Hancock County reached his ear and he wrote a letter in June, 1840, to the Postmaster, William Sebastian, one of the leaders of the party in the county. A copy of this letter it has been my good fortune to secure. It is the famous message to Chapman which was at first taken up as a sort of battle cry by the Democratic press in central Indiana, and like wild fire spread throughout the land. The letter is as follows:

"Indianapolis, June 12, 1840.

"Mr. Sebastian.

"Dear Sir:—I have been informed by a Democrat that in one part of your county thirty Van Buren men have turned for Harrison. Please let me know if such be the fact. Hand this letter to General Milroy. I think such a deplorable state of facts can not exist. If so, I will visit Hancock and address the people relative to the policy of the Democratic party. I have no time to spare, but I will refuse to eat or sleep or rest so long as anything can be done. Do, for heaven's sake, stir up the Democracy. See Chapman, tell him not to do as he did hereto-

fore. He used to create unnecessary alarms; he must CROW! we have much to crow over. I will insure this county to give a Democratic majority of two hundred votes. Spare no pains. Write instantler.

“GEORGE PATTISON.”

The letter was read and left on the table in the postoffice, where it was picked up by Thomas D. Walpole, read and copied. It was published in the Indianapolis Semi-Weekly Journal, the leading Whig newspaper of the State, June 16, 1840. Its publishers were Douglass & Noel. This paragraph appeared before the letter in the Journal as follows:

“TELL CHAPMAN TO CROW.”

“If any of the friends of General Harrison have felt at all discouraged as to the result, either in August or in November, we think a perusal of the letter published below will cause all their fears to vanish. The confidence exhibited by the Van Buren party is assumed only for effect and this letter, from the pen of the principal Van Buren editor in this town, is not only characteristic of the source from which it emanated, but will sufficiently illustrate the truth of our remarks. The copy has been handed us for publication by a citizen of Greenfield.”

Then follows Mr. Pattison's letter to the postmaster as printed above.

It is quite evident that the discovery of the letter by the Whigs created a sensation. Below is another article copied from the “Indianapolis Journal” which appeared June 16, 1840, written by a Whig of Greenfield and sent to the paper for publication. The article is as follows:

“Greenfield, June 12, 1840.

“Mr. Editor:

“A letter came to the postoffice in this place this morning, addressed to the Postmaster, by the editor of the ‘Constitution,’ asking for information on the state of our politics, and giving advice which he considers of vital importance to the party in its present sinking condition. A Whig accidentally got hold of the letter and took a copy. It shows, if anything can, their true situation as understood and felt by themselves. It calls in the most desponding language, on the Postmaster at this place to write immediately and let him (the editor of the ‘Constitution’) know if any such a deplorable state of things does really exist as had just been reported to him by a creditable Van Buren citizen of this county. This deplorable state of things is nothing more than this creditable Van Buren citizen had told him that he feared Van and Howard could do nothing in this county, and that within his own knowledge thirty to fifty original Jackson men had left Martin Van Buren and joined the stand of General Harrison. The editor then



OLD CHAPMAN TAVERN, GREENFIELD, INDIANA, AS IT STANDS TODAY

Vol. I.]

INDIANAPOLIS,

INDIANA



"CROW, CHAPMAN, CROW!"

SENTINEL.

JULY 21, 1841.

(No. 1.)

When I arrived at the church, the carriage was broken. I stopped at a public house in C. Ohio, and while my horse was resting, I sat down in the bar-room.


THE VILLAGE BLACKSMITH.
BY W. W. LORRAINE.
Under a spreading chestnut tree

SINGULAR DISCOVERY OF A FEMALE UNJUSTLY EXCLUDED.
The following account of the case of a poor girl

THE FIRST NUMBER OF THE INDIANA STATE SENTINEL

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Baldwin, of Montpelier, for Treasurer.



THE CROWERS ARE COMING!

How do those who stole a private letter and made it public, like the idea!

EDITORIAL FROM THE FIRST NUMBER OF THE INDIANA STATE SENTINEL

THE ROOSTER

requests the postmaster to tell Joseph Chapman (the lo-co-fo-co candidate for Representative in this county) for heaven's sake to CROW, Yes CROW, even if their case appear to be hopeless. He tells him to speak as though he were confident of success. He then, probably by way of illustration and to show what is meant by 'crowing,' states that Marion County is safe for a majority of two hundred Van Buren votes. He also calls on the assistant marshal, General Milroy, a petticoat hero, to stir up the Democracy while he is engaged in his official duties of taking the census. This letter shows that the locos are aware of the true condition of affairs and to keep up appearances the hired officeholders and office seekers are informed that they must crow to keep up their fast sinking cause. The editor of the 'Constitution' can be furnished with a copy of this letter by addressing the Tippecanoe Club of Greenfield.

"ONE OF THE CLUB."

A month later another letter appeared in the "Semi-Weekly Journal" in its issue of July 30, 1840. The letter is as follows:

"Greenfield, July 13, 1840.

"Mr. Moore:

"As the Loco-focos keep a CROWER in our county I will take upon me occasionally to let you know how we are getting along, and give statements of facts only. Mr. Chapman has, since he received his peremptory order to crow, been doing all that lies in his power as a CROWER. But as the people are now satisfied that he is only obeying imperative orders, his CROWING passes off with about as great profit to him and his party as would the shearing of a squealing porker to his shearers. He has been crowing very loud lately, hoping thereby to effect something for himself and his party in an election for magistrate in Blue River Township. The election took place on last Saturday and the result was that the vote of Mr. Hackleman (Whig) more than doubled that of Mr. Gallaher, who is a very prominent Van Buren man. Mr. Hackleman received eighty-seven votes and Mr. Gallaher forty-one votes. It is proper to state that Mr. Gallaher has always been very popular in his township. He has always heretofore received almost a unanimous vote. Mr. G. ran for sheriff at the last election and was second highest on the list where four others were running for the same office. At that time, however, the Whigs knew of no CROWING 'bulletins' being issued, and a great many of them voted for Mr. Gallaher.

"You may rest assured that all will be right in this county at the August and November elections. Mr. Chapman can have no possible hopes of being elected, notwithstanding he has the 'census taker' to assist him in crowing. He has resorted to means that no honorable man would, by making unfounded statements, calculated to injure the private character of Mr. Walpole, his opponent. His slan-

ders against Mr. Walpole he attempts to prove, by obtaining a certificate which answers his purpose, from Col. Tague. But this certificate Mr. Walpole rebukes by getting another certificate from Col. Tague (who is a very accommodating old gentleman in the certificate line) which makes exactly a counter statement to the one he gave Chapman. The two certificates show what is phrenologically termed 'Destructiveness' more than anything I can now think of, except the story of the two 'Kilkenny cats.' The first certificate aims at the destruction of Mr. Walpole's private character; the second being from the same person and exactly reverse of the first, will be likely to show its destructiveness on the veracity of its good-natured vender, and lastly, like the Kilkenny cats, the two certificates destroy each other, and in this instance do not leave even a greasy spot.

"HANCOCK."

It will be noticed that the idea of "crowing" was the theme against which the Whig political writers centered their attack. Indeed, the Whigs had discovered the uneasiness of their opponents and had also, by the finding of the letter, ascertained the policy outlined by Mr. Pattison—to keep up the fight for appearance's sake alone.

The word "crowing" fitted Chapman to the letter and the Whigs made the most of it. Strange to say, this idea of gameness, daring, or tenacity, expressed in the order "Crow, Chapman, Crow!" caught the popular fancy of the Democrats; they liked its ring. They were in sympathy with their leader, Mr. Chapman, and the expression "Crow, Chapman, Crow!" was taken by them as complimentary to their leader rather than a term of ridicule, as the Whigs had used it. Notwithstanding this avalanche of criticism, or the handwriting on the wall, of the parties approaching defeat, Joseph Chapman fought on, and while the Democracy went down in defeat in the National election, he was elected Representative to the Indiana Legislature. At the close of the August election in 1840 the "Semi-Weekly Journal" of August 13, 1840, could not resist the temptation of another thrust and printed the following editorial:

"CROW, CHAPMAN, CROW!"

"A letter written from this place on the 12th of June last to the postmaster at Greenfield, directing Chapman to 'crow' and declaring that the party had much to crow over, says,

"'I will insure this county to give a Democratic majority of 200 votes.'

"Well, it did give upwards of 300 Democratic majority—not indeed for patent Democracy—but for the real Harrison Democracy."

The campaign of 1840 was the greatest that had ever occurred in the State. At this time the West was gaining recognition in the East, and with it the con-

viction that this part of the United States was to be a factor in the election. The Whig candidate for President, General William Henry Harrison, was a western man and lived in a small and modest house at North Bend, on the Ohio River, a short distance from the Indiana line. The Democrats in the campaign styled General Harrison the "Log Cabin and Hard Cider Candidate." His friends took up these terms and made them the party's battle cry. This year was also the first campaign in which processions, parades and barbecues were introduced as a part of the political campaign work. In every State great processions paraded the streets and country roads, carrying miniature log cabins and barrels of hard cider.

In no State did political excitement run higher than in Indiana. The great meeting of the campaign was held at the Tippecanoe battle ground, where the principal orators of the party addressed the people upon the very spot where their standard bearer a few years back won his brilliant military victory.

The Whigs had in their parades miniature log cabins and barrels of hard cider. Their battle cry of the "Hard Cider and the Log Cabin" no doubt created a desire among Indiana Democrats for a similar cry. When the phrase "Crow, Chapman, Crow!" was introduced they seized upon it and forthwith adopted the characteristic fowl, the Rooster, for their emblem. The Indiana press heralded the phrase and the new-born emblem to the four corners of the State. Gradually it grew in favor and importance, other newspapers in other States copied it, and in a comparatively short time the Rooster was accepted and recognized as the National emblem of the great Democratic party.

June 21, 1841, a new Democratic paper was started in Indianapolis called the "Indiana State Sentinel." It was published every Wednesday by C. A. and J. P. Chapman. These gentlemen were not related to Joseph Chapman. The first number of the paper, at the head of the first page, contained a picture of the Rooster and the phrase "Crow, Chapman, Crow!" This same head was carried for a number of years thereafter. On the editorial page of Volume 1, No. 1, a mention was made of the letter incident.

In another chapter I have related briefly the story of Mr. Chapman's later campaigns and of his associates who in after years brought fame to their home city. It goes without saying, however, that he became a most popular man and prominent in the Legislature during the following three or four years, where he was heralded as the "Crowing Joe Chapman of Hancock."

In October, 1847, Joseph Chapman enlisted with a company organized in Greenfield for the Mexican War, and in the service of his country turned his back upon his friends, his home and family, never to see them again. His letters home were most characteristic, especially those sent to his wife.

As he fought, we fancy his mind often returned to his home, and no doubt to the "Hard Cider Campaign" of 1840. He soon dropped from the pages of

history, for he fell in battle and sleeps today in an unmarked soldier's grave on a tropical battlefield of the Mexican plains. A little band of comrades laid him to rest and sent back this message to Greenfield: "Crowing Joe Chapman fell today in his last campaign."

PART TWO

CHAPMAN AND HIS HOME FOLKS

After Mr. Van Buren's defeat he made a tour of the West, in 1843, following the route of the National or Cumberland Road, which is the main thoroughfare in Greenfield. His visit to Greenfield was a great occasion and the Democrats made extensive preparations for his entertainment. The journey from the East was made by stage and almost all of the stage drivers were Whigs.

During President Van Buren's administration he had vetoed a bill for an appropriation for the improvement of the National Road. The West was greatly displeased at this action for the road in many places was almost impassable. The stage-drivers had planned to give the Ex-President an opportunity to count the mud holes along the road. Near Greenfield there was a steep hill and at a signal the driver pulled his horses to the side and the famous traveler was thrown into the mud. When Mr. Van Buren arrived in Greenfield he was in a deplorable condition and new clothes had to be provided.

Later in the day a public reception was held in the front room of the Chapman tavern. Mr. Joseph Chapman took great pleasure in introducing his young son, Martin Van Buren Chapman, to the Ex-President. This same Martin Van Buren Chapman later became a teacher in the Greenfield Academy and is responsible for a large portion of the early training of Mr. James Whitcomb Riley, who was his pupil. In another part of this book a letter from Mr. Chapman is reproduced.

Captain Reuben A. Riley, father of James Whitcomb Riley, the Hoosier Poet, and Joseph Chapman, in 1844 announced their candidacy for Representative in the Legislature. David S. Gooding and George Henry also came forward for the same office. Mr. Henry was elected. Later, however, Mr. Riley and Mr. Gooding were elected to represent Hancock County in the Legislature.

David S. Gooding was a well known character in Eastern Indiana history. After long service in his State and county he was appointed United States Marshal of the District of Columbia under President Johnson. These men were very close friends and Judge Gooding at that time was influential in National affairs. It is to Judge Gooding that the credit belongs for the preservation of this story of the Rooster. I copy below a letter written by Judge Gooding to Martin Van



WILLIAM MITCHELL



DAVID S. GOODING



REUBEN A. RILEY



THOMAS D. WALPOLE

Buren Chapman, who, in a previous letter, had asked for correct information regarding his father's connection with the Democratic emblem:

"Greenfield, March 10, 1886.

"M. V. Chapman, Esq.

"Dear Sir:—In answer to your request to be correctly informed as to the connection of your father, Hon. Joseph Chapman, with the origin of 'Crow, Chapman, Crow!' I can say that I am quite sure that the following statement is substantially correct, to-wit: In May, June or July, 1840, Hon. Thomas D. Walpole was the Whig candidate and Hon. Joseph Chapman was the Democratic candidate for Representative in the Legislature, and during the canvass Chapman seemed to be growing despondent, whereupon George Pattison, the editor of the 'Constitution,' a Democratic paper published in Indianapolis, wrote a letter addressed to William Sebastian, then the Democratic Postmaster at Greenfield, Indiana, in which he was requested to encourage Chapman in the contest and in which letter about these words occurred: 'Tell Chapman to Crow.' The letter was opened and laid on the table and while so lying Walpole came into the postoffice room; he was reported to have read and copied the letter. At all events the letter was soon thereafter published in the 'Indianapolis Journal.' If the files of the Journal for the year 1840 have been preserved the letter can be found therein at some date between April, 1840, and August, 1840. There may possibly be some slight inaccuracy herein, but nothing material. I am, etc.,

"DAVID S. GOODING."

Mr. Gooding, in 1859, formed a company to establish a newspaper in Greenfield. My grandfather, Mr. William Mitchell, was associated with Mr. Gooding in this enterprise. The paper was called "The Hancock Democrat," with Mr. Gooding as its first editor. However, Mr. Gooding's connection with the paper was of short duration, as Mr. Mitchell, early in its history, became sole owner and editor. The paper never changed hands and is today published by my father, Mr. John F. Mitchell.

I wish the space of this little book would permit of the telling of some of the campaigns through which this paper has passed, but as I am simply tracing the origin of the Democratic emblem I am denied that privilege.

However, I shall state that during the War of the Rebellion the paper was seized by the Government and its presses used in printing muster-rolls and other army orders. Two issues of the paper did not appear on this account and are the only ones missing from the files. Many of the earlier poems of Mr. James Whitcomb Riley first found their way into type in the columns of this paper.

The story of the "Rooster" was a favorite theme of my grandfather and whenever it was possible to use a cut of the proud bird in his newspaper it was

reverently incorporated. He purchased in Cincinnati a mounted rooster during the Tilden campaign and this old bird has been used in parades during every campaign since. It is now preserved in a glass case and is no doubt the oldest rooster in the county.

It might be of interest to many to read the following letter from Martin Van Buren Chapman to my father; I therefore present it. Mr. Chapman enclosed a clipping in his letter from the "St. Louis Republic" of April 8, 1907, printed under the head of "Answers to Correspondents," which gives a wrong statement regarding the subject of the sketch. The clipping reads as follows:

"The emblem of the Democratic party at the time of President Jackson's administration was the hickory pole and broom. About the year 1840 there was a Democrat living in Indiana named Chapman who was known in all his neighborhood for his gift of crowing like a rooster. One story is that in reply to a desponding letter of Chapman about the political situation in the presidential election of 1840, in which William Henry Harrison was the candidate against Van Buren, a friend wrote an encouraging letter ending with the words, 'Crow, Chapman, Crow!'

"Another account makes the letter pass between two friends and ending with the words, 'Tell Chapman to Crow.' The letter, whichever it was, was published and the phrase spread. In 1842 and 1844, after Democratic victories in those years, the Rooster came into general use as the emblem of Democratic victory."

Mr. Chapman's letter is as follows:

"Ada, Okla., April 12, 1907.

"John F. Mitchell, Editor Hancock Democrat, Greenfield, Ind.

"Dear Friend and Pupil:—I am located in this city and have been for seven or eight years. I am now 73 years of age and in fairly good health. My brother, W. W. Chapman, is in Allen, Texas, now 71. Mrs. Caroline Chapman, widow of William Chapman, lives here at the age of 81. T. J. Alley (Tom), who has for ten years been exploring the Holy Land, paid me a visit from Jerusalem, Palestine. He is past 80. Doubtless you remember all of these parties as from Greenfield or Hancock County.

"I send you a clipping from the St. Louis Republic concerning the origin of the Rooster as an emblem of the Democratic party. The question has been raised often, and again and again answered that Joseph Chapman, of Greenfield, by his great efficiency in imitating the crowing of a rooster, started the scheme rolling. This is error, as my father never crowed like a rooster. I visited Greenfield in 1886 or 1887, I think, and during my visit Judge Gooding gave a statement to me in writing as to the origin of 'Crow, Chapman, Crow!' and told me to consult the files of the Indiana State Journal, of April, May, or June, 1840, and

[1186]

THE ROOSTER

the original letter that gave rise to the matter would be found. I sent Willie Mitchell, a newsboy of the Democrat, to consult the files, and Gooding's letter and the Journal's statement were published in the Hancock Democrat while William Mitchell was still living.

"Now, in the interest of historic accuracy I request you to examine your files and reproduce the article in question that a matter of historical importance (politically) be corrected and set at rest.

"I would appreciate a copy of the Democrat if the item appears.

"Respectfully,

"M. V. CHAPMAN."





PARSONS OF HEREFORD
1481 A.D.



PARSONS OF RADNOR



PARSONS (EARL OF ROSSE)



PARSONS OF BUCKINGHAM



PARSONS OF GLOUCESTER

ARMORIAL BEARINGS OF THE PARSONS FAMILY



CORNET JOSEPH PARSONS' HOUSE, BUILT IN 1658 AT NORTHAMPTON, MASSACHUSETTS



HOME OF ISAAC PARSONS AT NORTHAMPTON,
MASSACHUSETTS

The land on which this old house was built, in 1743, has been owned
by the Parsons family for nearly two centuries and a half

Side-Lights on an Old American Family

Sketches of Some of the Interesting Personalities and Episodes
That Have Figured in the History of the Descendants of Cornet
Joseph Parsons

BY

HENRY PARSONS, A. M.

Author of *The Parsons Family*



THE NAME of Parsons has for several centuries been known in nearly all the southern counties of England and parts of Ireland. The origin of the name is not known, with any certainty, and can only be a matter of surmise. Some are of the opinion that the names of Parsons, Person, Pierson, and Pearson had a common origin.

In connection with this account of the English families of the name, and as an interesting historical feature, something should be said as to the heraldic symbols and coat-armor of the ancient Parsons families. I quote from a well known authority the following:

"In the days when Knights were so encased in armour that no means of identifying them were left, the practice was introduced of painting their insignia of honor on their shields as an easy method of distinguishing them. For a time Armorial Bearings were granted only to individuals, but Richard I, during his Crusades to Palestine, made them hereditary. The reason why Armorial Bearings are called Coats-of-Arms is that they used to be introduced on the surcoat of their possessor, and the term was retained even when they were displayed elsewhere."

A very exhaustive discussion of the coat-armor of the English Parsons families is contained in the work of Albert Ross Parsons. In the course of his discussion, he says:

"In order to get a bird's-eye view of the ramifications of the ancient family of Parsons in England, we may begin with Herefordshire.

"We note in this shire in the Heralds' Visitation of 14th Edward I, as the most ancient representative of the family so far discovered, the name of John Parsons, of Cuddington, A. D. 1284.

"Two centuries later, A. D. 1481, Sir John Parsons was Mayor of Hereford. In his armorial bearings is a leopard's head (symbolizing military service in the Orient), between three Crosses (designating the Crusades).

"The Parsons to whom this coat-armor was originally granted may have

gone to the Holy Land with Richard Coeur de Lion and Frederick Barbarossa in 1189, the last Crusade that reached Palestine in force.

" . . . Hence, in light shed by the laws of heraldic symbolism upon the crusader's coat-armor of Sir John Parsons, as it is further interpreted by the later arms of Sir Thomas Parsons, of Oxfordshire, it is probable either that the original grantee was a Knight who followed Robert of Normandy, son of William the Conqueror (1066), . . . or else that he went with the expedition of Richard, Earl of Cornwall . . . in 1239, . . .

"For the arms of Sir Thomas Parsons of Oxford, which, like those of Sir John Parsons of Hereford, can only refer to the Crusades, place the leopard's head in the crest, surmounted by an eagle's thigh erased, symbolizing victory in the Orient, and displaying upon the coat-armor two chevrons, . . . together with three eagles displayed, . . .

"The arms of the Earls of Rosse, descended from Sir Richard Parsons of Norfolk, subsequently established in Ireland, bear three leopard's heads, while the crosses of the ancient crusader of Hereford, reappear in the arms of the Parsons family of Radnorshire, Wales, . . .

" . . . twenty miles west of Hereford is Radnorshire, where, in 1634, the High Sheriff of the shire was Cecil Parsons, Esq., descended paternally from the Parsons of Springfield, Essex County (the place of residence of William Pynchon, Esq., founder of Springfield, Mass.), and maternally from the Jeffreys of Prior, County Brecon. This Jeffrey-Parsons descent reminds us that at Alphington, near Exeter, Devonshire, . . . was born . . . Jeffrey Parsons, who came to America and settled at Gloucester, Mass. Meanwhile, it is but thirty miles from Alphington to the Torringtons, whence, according to Rev. Jonathan Parsons, came his grandfather, Deacon Benjamin Parsons, the brother of Cornet Joseph Parsons, of Springfield, Northampton, and Boston, Mass. . . ."

Crozier's General Armory gives to Joseph Parsons, the first to appear in New England, the Arms of Sir Thomas of Oxford, probably for the reasons stated above.

This earliest ancestor of the line here was later known as Cornet Joseph, from his military office. The first record of his appearance in America was as a witness to a deed given by the Indians to William Pynchon and others of lands at and about Springfield, Massachusetts.

Others of the name whose descendants have been honorably conspicuous in the history of our country, and who settled in New England, are these: Benjamin Parsons, known as "Deacon Benjamin," a brother of Joseph, who also settled in Springfield, Massachusetts, but many of whose descendants in the second and third generations were in Enfield, Connecticut; Thomas Parsons, who settled in Windsor, Connecticut; Samuel Parsons, who first came to Con-

necticut, who later settled at East Hampton, Long Island, New York; John Parsons, who, about 1680, was at York, Maine; Jeffrey Parsons, who first went to the Barbadoes, but afterward settled at Gloucester, Massachusetts, the ancestor of Judge Theophilus Parsons and his son, Professor Theophilus Parsons, of Cambridge; Philip Parsons, who appeared at Enfield, Connecticut, about 1690; and William Parsons, who settled in Boston. The records show that others of the name settled in Maryland and Virginia.

On July 15, 1636, Cornet Joseph Parsons was a witness to the deed of cession made by the Indians to William Pynchon and others of a large tract of land on both sides of the Connecticut River, then called Agawan, but later Springfield, the consideration being 18 yards of wampum, 18 coats, 18 hatchets, 18 hoes and 18 knives, a copy of which deed can be seen in the Recorder's Office in Springfield, Massachusetts. (It is published in full in Vol. 15, New England Hist. and Gen. Register, pp. 140-141.) At that time he was about seventeen years of age, as he testified at the March term of the court at Northampton, in 1662, on proof of said deed. This deed was made but sixteen years after the landing of the Pilgrims, and but six years after the first settlement of Boston. Munsell's "American Ancestry" states that Joseph Parsons came over with William Pynchon, the leader of the Springfield colonists, who was one of the patentees of the grant by the Crown to the Massachusetts Bay Company, and a fellow passenger with Winthrop, who came over in 1630. It is probable that he was a protégé and possibly a relative of Pynchon, which would account for the intimate social and business relations, both with him and later with his son, John Pynchon.

From 1672 to 1678 he was Cornet of the Hampshire Troop, commanded by Captain John Pynchon, the first troop of horse formed in Western Massachusetts, and, in 1679, he was a member of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Boston, the first regularly organized military company in America.

He became a large land owner in Springfield, Hadley and Northampton. He also owned two valuable lots in Boston, a residence and storehouse on the harbor. In 1668, a sawmill being needed, a grant of twenty acres was made, but the grantee failing in his contract, Parsons purchased it and made it a success.

In the spring of 1671 Joseph Parsons, with three others, went on an exploring expedition to what is now Northfield, Massachusetts, and concluded a bargain with the Indians for a tract of over 10,000 acres of land.

On November 2, 1646, Joseph Parsons married Mary Bliss, the daughter of Thomas Bliss of Hartford, Connecticut, who was a son of Thomas Bliss, of Belstone Parish, Devonshire, England, from whom is descended the Bliss family of this country. It is possible that Joseph may have resided for a time prior to his marriage in Hartford, and it is further possible that Joseph and Mary may have known each other in youth in old Devonshire.

The following incident in the life of the first ancestral mother of the Parsons family in America, as illustrative of the times, I am sure will interest her descendants.

Mary, the wife of Cornet Joseph Parsons, was the daughter of Thomas Bliss, of Hartford, Connecticut, a son of Thomas Bliss, of Belstone Parish, Devonshire, England. She was born in England in 1620 and came to this country with her parents. The Bliss family soon became prominent in the Connecticut Valley, and has ever since been honorably known in the history of the country. In 1656, and soon after the removal of the Parsons family from Springfield to Northampton, Joseph Parsons brought an action for slander against Sarah Bridgman, the wife of James Bridgman, charging that Sarah had accused Mary, his wife, of being a witch. The record of this notable case will be found at considerable length in Trumbull's *History of Northampton*, Vol. 1, pages 43-50; also on pages 228-234, copied from the original record now on file in Boston. I will give only its substance.

Several Springfield families, including the Bridgmans, had settled in Northampton. It seems that Mary Parsons' strong personality had aroused enmity in Springfield, which followed her to Northampton, and neighborhood gossip did the rest, and she was accused of being a witch. Margaret Bliss, the mother of Mary Parsons, hearing these stories, lost no time in interviewing their author.

"Goodwife Bridgman was equal to the occasion and told her to her face that she did hear that her daughter was suspected to be a witch." Exasperated by this slanderous gossip, Joseph Parsons brought this action to defend the reputation of his wife. The belief in witchcraft was common at that time and the charge involved an unholy partnership with the devil. We, of the Twentieth Century, find it difficult to appreciate the situation as it existed two hundred and fifty years ago, but the trials, persecutions, and punishments for witchcraft which took place in Massachusetts a few years later, are the darkest blots upon its otherwise glorious history. The record of the testimony upon the trial which followed arouses mingled feelings of mirth and sadness and can be summarized somewhat as follows:

Following hard upon the heels of any disagreement, or quarrel, between Mary Parsons and any member of the Bridgman family, a fatal disease would seize upon some horse, cow, or pig, belonging to the Bridgman family, and, as the disease could not be accounted for in any other way, it must be the result of Mary's uncanny influence exercised by way of revenge. Mrs. Bridgman's child died and she said she thought Mary Parsons had bewitched it.

Her eleven-year-old son fractures his knee, which seems to have been very bunglingly set by the "Chirurgeon," and the little fellow in his agony cried out that Mary Parsons was pulling his leg off, and that he saw her on the shelf. When she went away he said that a black mouse followed her.



HOUSE AT NORTHAMPTON, MASSACHUSETTS, BUILT IN 1755 BY
NOAH PARSONS, GREAT-GRANDSON OF CORNET JOSEPH PARSONS



THE OLD PARSONS TAVERN AT SPRINGFIELD,
MASSACHUSETTS

In this pleasantly-famed hostelry of the Colonial and Revolutionary periods George Washington stayed in 1775. In his diary he mentioned "Parsons Tavern where I lodged and which is a good house."

William Hannum testified that he had a "falling out" with Mary Parsons about the use of her brother John's (John Bliss) oxen. After that he lost, by disease, a "lusty cow" and a "lusty swine" that had before been well and healthy. In a day or two after, while on his way to Windsor, with his cart and oxen, one of the cattle was bitten by a rattlesnake and died there. "These things," he said, "doe something run in my mind that I cannot have my mind from this woman."

A Mrs. Hannum was also a witness. She lived a short distance from Mrs. Parsons on Market Street. She testified that she had "been warned by some of Windsor and some of Norwattack (Northampton) to beware how I had to do with Mary, the wife of Joseph Parsons." Notwithstanding this warning, she spun yarn for Mrs. Parsons and there were disputes between them as to the quantity. Then Mrs. Parsons had asked that one of Mrs. Hannum's daughters might go to live with her, which had been refused. Then her daughter, "though formerly healthy, yet this summer hath been sickly and unhelpful to which, though I know it may be God's own immediate hand, yet it causes some jealousyes in me against Mary because it fell out within three or four days after I had given her a full denyal of my daughter's service."

And Trumbull adds: "Here is the covert insinuation of uncanny dealings by Mrs. Parsons. The daughter, charmed with the idea of living with one of the richest families in town, was disappointed at the refusal of her mother and sulked and wouldn't help about the house work."

The decision of the court was in favor of the plaintiff and against Mrs. Bridgman, and she was ordered to make public acknowledgment of her fault at Northampton and Springfield, and that her husband, James Bridgman, pay to plaintiff £10 and £7, 1s, cost of court.

And Trumbull makes the following comment on page 45: "Mary Parsons was apparently a proud and nervous woman, haughty in demeanor and inclined to carry things with a high hand, she belonged to the aristocracy and evidently considered herself a dame of considerable importance. A woman of forcible speech and domineering ways, she was not unwilling that her neighbors should have the benefit of her opinions on any subject touching herself and her family. A case so flimsy and frivolous and founded on jealousy, prejudice, and superstition, conducted before honorable and sensible men, could not well have reached any other decision.

Eli Parsons, great-great-grandson of Cornet Joseph, was a soldier in the Revolutionary War from 1776 to 1780, holding the rank of Lieutenant. After the war, and in 1786-87, we find him taking an active part in Shays' Rebellion.

I remember hearing my grandfather, in my boyhood, give some account of Shays' Rebellion, in Massachusetts' history, which occurred in 1786-87.

His father, Elijah Parsons, great-great-grandson of Cornet Joseph, took a prominent part in the meetings and conventions which preceded the rebellion, and his uncle, Eli Parsons, was an active participator therein. I think, therefore, that some account of it will not be out of place here. It has been mentioned in all histories of those times, and in the second volume of Trumbull's *History of Northampton* about thirty pages are given to the subject and about the same number in Green's *History of Springfield*. In the last named book, on page 301, will be found an apparently fair statement of the causes which led up to it, and is as follows:

"The return of peace brought grave responsibilities upon the shoulders of the American leaders. The continental soldiers were poor and the money was largely in the hands of civilians. The men who, by their valor, put property in New England beyond the reach of England found themselves burdened with personal obligations, and the fiercest conflict was precipitated between debtors who had borne arms and creditors who had not. This is the general statement, but there were other complications; a worthless paper medium, a shambling and ill-defined union of the States, a jealousy of military power, and wild visions of what the new American democracy could do, combined to still further torture the Commonwealth. If 1776 was the time which tried men's souls, 1786 was the time which tried the poor man's soul, for fully one-half of the citizens of the State were in debt. The multiplication of judgments and the excursions of sheriffs in search of property to levy upon, embittered the people against the courts of law."

The trouble had been brewing for years and grew with intensity as time passed. There was no stay-law to relieve the debtor class by a postponement of the right to prosecute claims, a remedy which has since, on occasion, been adopted by some of the States, and the process of procuring judgment, issuing execution, and selling out the debtor went merrily on. Meetings to protest were held and agitators argued that in escaping from the tyrannies of England they found themselves in the clutches of their merciless countrymen. While the whole State was affected, the center of the agitation was in the Connecticut Valley, around Springfield and Northampton. Between 1783, when the British soldiers departed, and 1787, when the Philadelphia Convention drafted the Constitution, the country, socially and politically, was in a state of chaos. Daniel Shays, of Pelham, Massachusetts, whose activity gave a name to the Rebellion, had been a soldier of some distinction, had risen to the rank of Captain, and had fought at Bunker Hill, Stony Point, and Saratoga. He had suffered as a judgment debtor, was of a reckless character, and soon became a leader at the various meetings. The sale of the bedding under a sick woman gave him a text for tavern harangues. At the February, 1787, term of the Court of Common Pleas, held at Northampton, no less than three hundred and thirty causes, mainly the result of poverty

of the debtors, were called up, and judgment taken or action deferred. Class feeling was intense, and lawyers were the special objects of contempt, and elections were fought out on this issue. Soon argument and harangue were succeeded by riotous demonstrations, interfering with the courts, and the orderly conduct of business. Then followed the calling out of the militia and the appearance in arms of the insurgents. General Shepard commanded the State troops, and Shays, Luke Day, Adam Wheeler, and Eli Parsons were the leaders of the insurgents.

The final collision occurred in protecting the arsenal and a session of court to be held at Springfield in or about February, 1787. The insurgents had gathered from various quarters under the different leaders and seemed to concentrate near the town of Palmer to the northeast of Springfield, and were advancing toward the town. On his history, on page 325, Green says:

"Shepard sent several messages of warning to Shays not to advance but received only insolence and defiance for his pains. At a hundred yards a howitzer was discharged each side of the advancing forces, and a few moments later a shot at short range was levelled directly at the column. Ezekiel Root and Ariel Webster of Gill, and John Spicer of Lyden, were killed, and John Hunter, of Shelburn, mortally wounded. A scene of ridiculous confusion followed. Not a return shot was fired at the militia and about 1,200 very much frightened men raced for their dear lives toward Ludlow."

And in the History of Hampden County, by Copeland (1902), Vol. 2, page 47:

"It was an exciting period in Springfield when Daniel Shays' hosts overturned the courts and openly insulted the organized militia, but when their little success prompted an attack on the Federal Arsenal on the hill, one or two discharges of small cannon by General Shepard's soldiers dispersed the unruly horde and ended the embryo internecine war."

This ended the rebellion. The insurgents scattered to their homes and their leaders fled. Governor Bowdoin, in February, offered one hundred and fifty pounds reward for the arrest of Shaws and one hundred pounds each for the arrests of Wheeler, Day, and Parsons. After the excitement had quieted down, general amnesty was granted by the Governor.

In the War of 1812, the surgeon who served on the flag-ship "Lawrence," commanded by Commodore Perry (from which he went to the ship "Niagara," during the Battle of Lake Erie), was Usher Parsons, sixth in descent from Cornet Joseph. He was of the Maine branch of the family.

Daniel Parsons, the son of "Esquire Joseph," and grandson of Cornet Joseph Parsons, is mentioned as an inn-keeper at Springfield. Clarke, in his "Antiquities of Northampton," refers to the fact in a tone of apology, or explanation, in the

following language, as though the occupation at the time he wrote might not be regarded as quite up to the level of the family's respectability.

"Daniel Parsons, who located in Springfield as an inn-keeper, probably ranked in public estimation amongst the choicest characters in the community. Gentlemen, in the technical sense of the word, then had, and only such received licenses to be inn-keepers. As thus licenses may be cited such names as Cornet Joseph Parsons, Captain Henry Dwight, and the distinguished Colonel Partridge. Daniel Parsons, therefore, stood as to high moral worth probably second to none of his six brothers."

Whether this was the same tavern and location which afterwards became more famous as "Parsons' Tavern," under the management of his grandson, Zenas Parsons, we cannot say, but presume it was. It was referred to at length in the histories of Wilbraham, Springfield and Hampden County. On page 341, History of Springfield, by Green, is the following:

"Of the taverns of that period, the old stand of Zenas Parsons is the best known. The elm in the southeast corner of the present court square stood in front of this tavern, there being just room for the 'Stage Wagon' between it and the Hotel Veranda. Extensive barns and sheds in the rear were there, and here auctions were frequently held. On training days young men often tried their powers of wrestling. Over the shed was a long dance hall, much used by young people. It is generally believed that George Washington put up at this tavern either when he passed through to take command at Cambridge, or when he visited the Armory after the war."

In the History of Hampden County, by Copeland (1902), at page 42, Vol. 2, speaking of Springfield, the author says:

"One of the notable events of the year 1775 was the arrival in Springfield of General Washington *en route* to Boston to take command of the Army encamped about that city. He stopped a time at the old Parsons Tavern, which was then located in Elm Street, and his presence in the town was the occasion of much enthusiasm on the part of the loyal citizens. On his departure, a troop of horsemen escorted the party as far as Brookfield."

In a diary of Washington appears the following:

"Col. Worthington, Adjutant General of the State of Mass., General Shepard, Mr. Lyman and many other gentlemen sat an hour or two with me in the evening at Parsons Tavern where I lodged, and which is a good house."

General Lewis B. Parsons, of the seventh generation, the second son of Lewis B. and Lucina (Hoar) Parsons, was born in 1818, in Genesee County, New York. His early life was spent in Homer, New York, but at the age of ten he removed with his father to St. Lawrence County, New York. He made the most of the limited opportunities for education which were open to him, teaching a country school at the age of sixteen to enable him to continue his studies. At

eighteen he entered Yale. In the winter of his senior year he taught a Classical in Western New York, having among his pupils Thomas Cooley, afterward Judge Cooley, of Michigan, the great authority on Constitutional law, who became his life-long friend. For two years after his graduation, he taught another Classical School in Mississippi, where his personal observations on the evils of slavery made a lasting impression.

In 1842 he entered the law school at Cambridge, Massachusetts, where he came under the inspiring instructions of Judge Story, Judge Greenleaf, and Theophilus Parsons. After leaving Cambridge, he settled at Alton, Illinois, where he formed a partnership with Mr. Strong, brother of Justice Strong of the United States Supreme Court, and, later, with Judge Henry W. Billings. He removed to St. Louis in 1854, where he practiced his profession, and later went to Cincinnati as attorney for the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad. He was for many years connected with this company, afterward known as the Baltimore and Ohio Southern, as treasurer, director, and president.

During this time Captain (later General) George B. McClellan was vice-president. He returned to St. Louis in the spring of 1861, when the Southern element was in control and planning to turn the State over to the Confederacy. This was prevented by the prompt action of General Lyon in the capture of Camp Jackson, May 10, 1861, when Mr. Parsons acted as Vol. Aide to Colonel (later General) Frank P. Blair.

Realizing the certainty of war, although past the age for military service, Mr. Parsons offered his services to General McClellan, who asked him to come to Washington and placed him on his staff with the rank of Captain. Because of his business experience, he was soon transferred to the West, and assigned to duty under General Robert Allen, Chief Quartermaster at St. Louis.

On December 9, 1861, he received this order from General Allen:

"You will take charge of all the transportation pertaining to the Dept. of the Mississippi by river and railroad and discharge all employes not required to facilitate this particular service."

This department included the Mississippi and its tributaries extending from the Yellowstone to Pittsburgh, and to New Orleans, the lower Mississippi coming into control as the Confederates were driven back. This vast work of transportation "behind the scenes" in the great drama of the war was, at that time, but little known or considered by the public. But by the leaders in that struggle, the Generals in the field, planning the battles, when delay in any particular might mean defeat and disaster, the importance of the proper management of the transportation department was fully understood.

A few simple, concise regulations fixing responsibility were prepared by Captain Parsons, which were so successful in bringing about system and order, and were so satisfactory to the railroads, that they were adopted throughout the

West as the basis of Government transportation during the war, and, subsequently, with other regulations added by General Parsons later, became the basis of General Rules for Army Transportation still in use.

In January, 1865, General Grant desired General Scofield's army of 25,000 men brought from Mississippi to aid in the movements around Richmond, but hesitated to order it, thinking it would be impracticable, at that season of the year, to safely bring so large a body of men over the mountains, in sufficient time to answer his purpose, forty to sixty days being the shortest time thought possible. Colonel Parsons said he thought it could be done in thirty days. But the army, with all its artillery, and over one thousand animals, was transported a distance of nearly one thousand four hundred miles, during the severest cold of the winter, partly by river and partly by rail, within an average time of eleven days, or less than seventeen days from the embarkation of the first troops until the arrival of the last in Washington, and without the loss of property or a single life. It was this movement which called from Secretary Stanton the remark that "It was without a parallel in the history of Armies," and which elicited highest praise from English, French, and German writers, while, as recently as during the Spanish War, a newspaper editorial stated that "The American Civil War still holds the record for transporting a large body of troops over a long distance in the shortest time."

His promotion to the rank of Brigadier-General did not come until near the end of the war, and the circumstances are deserving of notice. There had been numerous promotions in his Department from the Regular Army, but few from the volunteer service, and the reason was given at a Cabinet meeting, held about this time, an account of which was given Colonel Parsons as follows:

"Recently when the subject of the promotion of a Quartermaster to the rank of Brig.-Genl. was being discussed at a Cabinet meeting the President mentioned Parsons. Some urged that the promotion should be given to an officer of the Regular Army—that such officers were regularly educated and trained up to the service for that sort of position and were better fitted by such special training. Mr. Lincoln said: 'That may all be well as to your stall-fed fellows, but Col. Parsons is about the best grass-fed Quartermaster we have got. I think he should have the promotion now.'"

The opinion of President Lincoln thus expressed in his homely, characteristic manner, was soon put into effect by the following order:

"Executive Mansion,

"Washington, D. C., Mar. 17, 1865.

"Hon. Secretary of War,

"Dear Sir:—I have long thought Col. Lewis B. Parsons ought to be promoted and intended it should have been sooner done. His long service and the

uniform testimony to the ability with which he has discharged his very responsible and extended duties, render it but just and proper his services should be acknowledged, and more especially so, since his great success in executing your orders for the recent movement of troops from the West.

"You will, therefore, at once promote Colonel Parsons to the rank of Brigadier-General, if there is a vacancy which can be given to the Quartermaster's Department, and if not, you will so promote him when the first vacancy occurs.

"Yours truly,

"A. LINCOLN."

The promotion came soon after. An extract is herewith given from an editorial in the *New York Times* of July 31, 1865, written by the late Henry J. Raymond, whom General Parsons did not know, but who was present at the interview between him and Secretary Stanton after the movement of General Scofield's army, and who probably reflected the sentiments of the Secretary.

"No officer of the United States Army could speak with more correct knowledge than Genl. Parsons of the numbers and efficiency of the armies of the Union, for no one, perhaps, had more experience than he in their organization, subsistence and handling. . . . We venture the assertion that if Secretary Stanton were called on to name the officer who, more than any other, had distinguished himself in the task of wielding the vast machinery of the Union Armies during all the stages of the conflict in response to the plans and requirements of our Generals, he would, with little hesitation, designate General Lewis B. Parsons. . . . It is to his matchless combinations that must be attributed much of the efficiency and success that almost invariably marked every military movement in the West. When the climax of General Grant's Western renown was reached in the battles before Chattanooga, and he was transferred to the command of all the armies, with headquarters at Washington, he lost no time in bringing General (then Colonel) Parsons to Washington to direct from that center the machinery of which he had become so completely the master. When every department of the public service during the war comes to have its true place in history, there will be few with a more brilliant and enduring reputation than General Lewis B. Parsons."

To this may be added the tribute of General Grant in a farewell letter to General Parsons as he was leaving the service. He says:

"Headquarters, Armies of the United States.

"Dear General:

"I have long contemplated writing you and expressing my satisfaction with the manner in which you have discharged the very responsible and difficult

duties of Superintendent of the river and railroad transportation for the armies, both in West and East.

"The position is second in importance to no other connected with the military service, and to have been appointed to it at the beginning of a war of the magnitude and duration of this one, and holding it to its close, providing transportation for whole armies, with all that appertains to them for thousands of miles, adjusting accounts involving millions of money, and doing justice to all, never delaying for a moment any military operations, dependent upon you, meriting and receiving the commendation of your superior officers, and the recognition of the Government for integrity of character and for the able and efficient manner in which you have filled it, evidences an honesty of purpose, knowledge of men, business intelligence, and executive ability of the highest order, and of which any man ought to be justly proud. Wishing you a speedy return of health and duty, I remain,

Yours truly,

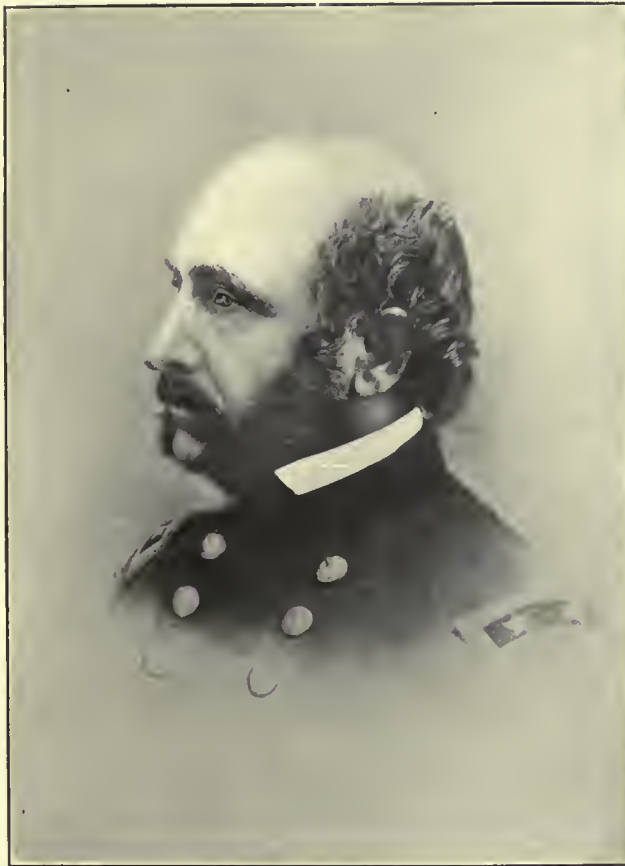
"U. S. GRANT, Lt.-Gen."

On his retirement from the Army, General Parsons was given the rank of Brevet Major-General. After the war his health was found to be seriously impaired, and his physicians ordered entire rest and he went abroad and travelled for two years, returning in 1869. He again resided in St. Louis, was active as a director of various railroads, and was president of a bank. In politics he was a Democrat, but was not a seeker of office.

Much of his time in his later years was given to educational matters, particularly in connection with Parsons College, at Fairfield, Iowa, which, in 1875, he and his brothers, Charles and George, had established under the directions of his father's will, and to which he had always been a liberal contributor. He never lost interest in Army matters, and was a member of the Grand Army of the Republic, the Loyal Legion, and the Society of the Army of the Tennessee.

From the time of Cornet Joseph, who fought in King Philip's War, the Parsons family has given soldiers to our country's service, and citizens, whose characters and abilities have helped to establish the greatness of our Nation. It is a name in which those who bear it may well take pride.





GENERAL LEWIS BALDWIN PARSONS

"When every department of the public service during the war comes to have its true place in history, there will be few with a more brilliant and enduring reputation than General Lewis B. Parsons."—Henry J. Raymond, in The New York Times, July 31, 1865



CAPTAIN MYLES STANDISH

Model at the Children's Museum, illustrating the Colonial Period of American History

A Children's Museum

Unique Method of Teaching History to Young and Old by Means
of a Collection of Exhibits Which Makes it a Living Force
A Novel Activity of the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences

BY

AGNES E. BOWEN



JOHN BROWN'S pike suggested it.

"Pike made by the followers of John Brown. Used by him in his raid on Harper's Ferry, October 10, 1859."

The curator read this label aloud. We both looked at the long pike, whose roughly made knife appears to be sharpened out of an old scythe. "It is valuable," said she, "but it is *such* a big thing in our small cases." The reverence with which the pike was handled corrected the impatience of the words.

Then I took it from her. It is so heavy to lift upon one's shoulder, we marvelled that man could carry it upon a march, and so long and splintery in the handle that to thrust would seem difficult. I set it in a corner and it fell forward, toward us, which led me to remark as I caught and put it into place, "It has the fighting spirit yet."

"Yes," answered the curator, "and so have those," indicating some sabres, a cutlass, and other paraphernalia of the warrior, which were waiting permanent installation. "They are so heavy that they tip over, however I may set them up. Besides, I don't know that we wish to suggest 'the fighting spirit' in a children's museum." Then came the reverent touch again. "My father fought in the Civil War," said she, gently laying flat one of the swords that refused to remain in vertical position.

We both recognized the immense value, historical and sentimental, attaching to the war relics, but even then, in 1905, exhibition space was insufficient in this museum and close discrimination had to be exercised in the matter of display. We were engaged in adjustment of exhibits and had gone carefully over the stock.

An inspiration came to me. "Let us make history a department here," said I, "with those,—the old fire bucket, the warming pan, the candle snuffers, the wonderfully hand-stitched silk skirt, etc., as a nucleus." The idea was accepted. On assembling our material enough objects and pictures appeared to

fill two cases, one of arms, the curator inventing a clever mode of hanging them that is still retained.

When the collection was observed by children, however, through their comments it was judged that comparatively few had a clear idea of the meaning of history. Indeed, even the name "Gettysburg" seemed Greek to some of them. The majority knew perhaps a dozen hero stories, but were quite unable to make the mental connection between Washington and the flintlock musket, for instance; while others had received training which led them to express an objection to righteous law and its possible enforcement by a bayonet, and hatred of those who might order its enforcement.

Thus, the forming of a small collection at once set forth these problems: how to cultivate the imagination so that the unseeing, through an object, might be led to create mental vision; how to clarify mental vision so the truth, that liberty means obedience to law, might be absorbed by the individual; how to solve these problems in terms that should appeal to the child first, but also to the adult.

When I was a small child my mother taught me Bible stories by means of impromptu models, which were my Sunday afternoon delight. I sat on her lap. She sat in a rocking chair before the library table, putting my head on her shoulder as she talked. But when the dramatic crisis came the rocking ceased, we both lost our recumbent attitude, and she would say: "Now—see—it was this way." Then books were rapidly put into position for an Oriental house, and the paper cutter, suspended in a double loop of string, showed me how the sick man was let down through the roof to receive Christ's healing touch. Or the books formed the Temple, and Mother's skilful scissors soon produced from paper the figures of the "learned doctors" and the Child Christ standing before them; and as she developed the situation she pushed one head forward, at attention, or twitched another backward to express disapprobation. The Apostles, the Disciples, remain in my mind in form as she made them, and I instinctively compare the pictures of the great masters with her outlines, which still appeal to me as being the more vivid in presentation of characteristics. However, her "Judas" invariably conformed to the accepted tall and thin type.

I told of this modeling and suggested such, in miniature, and in something permanent, as a possible help in the solution of the problems. I was permitted to carry out my idea, doing so at first in a local study of "The Dutch Homestead—about 1640," "to see if the children would be interested." "They are hanging around 'the playhouse' like bees," the curator triumphantly reported, after the model had been on exhibition for a short time. Electricity and wireless were then first attracting the "museum boys." One of them said: "Better let me put a live wire around that, Miss Bowen, or it will be carried off." The model was first developed in pasteboard and dolls and afterward in less perishable material. An interest in local history was immediately manifested.

A CHILDREN'S MUSEUM

The following is the label which described this exhibit:

IN THE NEW NETHERLANDS, ABOUT 1640. A PATROON, HIS FAMILY, AND HOME.

Colors in Dutch dress were almost uniformly gay and in strong contrast to the quieter tints worn in New England. As here represented the heads and costumes of the Patroon and his wife are modeled from Elizabeth McClellan's "Historic Dress in America," and the baby from a picture of the same period, by J. Jordaens, now in the Madrid Gallery. The time was about 1640. The Patroon wears the rich doublet and baggy breeches of Holland, fastened with gold buttons. His ruff is wired, and his hat, of grey felt, is ornamented with long plumes of two colors, fastened with "points." His woolen stockings are fastened at the knee with a scarf of silk and "points." Points, or ties ornamented at the ends with metal sheaths or tags, called aiglets or aiguillettes, and often richly jewelled, were the usual fastenings during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, taking the place of buttons in securing the different parts of the dress. They were often very dainty and sent as love tokens. Sometimes as many as twenty or thirty pairs were used by a man of fashion. These, and bowknots about his waist, proclaim this Patroon to have been such.

The lady's gown is of crimson satin with pointed bodice, cut low neck, with full sleeves slashed to show the white undersleeves. Her ruff and cuffs are of lace starched and wired, and her stomacher is held in place by jewelled brooches. An over-garment of blue woolen has open sleeves and is tied with white ribbons. Her hair is worn in a knot at the back, with short, wavy locks in front and a fringe of short curls upon the forehead.

The baby, after the fashion of the time, has a dress of rich brocade, with cap, "body" and apron of finest linen.

Such costumes and houses as these pictured might have been seen in Brooklyn or any of the Dutch villages of the New Netherlands, at that period. Houses varied in size and detail according to the purse and fancy of the builder, but all were hospitable in appearance, ample in proportion and generally painted white, with green blinds. The typical house was a one-story structure built of stone, wood or brick—frequently of all three—set gable end to the road, with finished attic containing a few sleeping rooms, a store room and a spinning and loom room. The roof, steep at the ridge pole, curved slightly in the descent, was pierced by three dormer windows and carried beyond the side wall to form a piazza. Its outer edge rested on five turned pillars. At a later date the roof line was modified by the "hip," an idea introduced from the houses of the English colonists on the island. The Dutch house always had plants and a pet bird brought from home in the windows, and was set in a pleasant garden or *bouwerie* bright with flowers, especially tulips, with lilacs and syringas growing against

the house corner. The house pictured was modeled from the Bergen and Schenck homesteads on the road to Bergen Beach (Bergen Island and Cook's Mills), the first of which dates to 1649, while the other is supposed to be several years older. These are the oldest houses in good repair in Brooklyn.

Nineteen years after Hendrick Hudson landed at Gravesend Bay, Dutch trading posts in the New Netherlands had become so important that the Home Government decided to attract desirable and permanent colonization. To that end an act was passed in Holland (1629) conferring the title of "Patroon," which means patron or protector, together with the grant of a large tract of land with manorial privileges and the right to entail, on one who raised a company of fifty colonists and brought them to America. At first the individual had to be a member of the Dutch West India Company which had control here, but later the title could be obtained by any fulfilling the conditions. Patrons acquired immense wealth and the furnishings of their homes were the choicest they could import. Through the effort of the Antirent Party the privileges of the Patroon were extinguished about 1850.

During the summer of 1905, I planned the entire history exhibit and made the two introductory charts, which show in pictures and appropriate text, "The Sovereigns of Europe Who Sent Navigators on Voyages of Discovery to This Continent, with Names of Men First Commissioned"; and "The Navigators, Their Ships, and a Concise Record of Their Lives."

Because of the limited space at our command, the nature of the historic objects then in the museum's possession, the fact that other and great museums carry much of general history, and the belief that knowledge of the history of this country is desirable for the American, we decided to confine our collection to American history. Through the charts this is hinged on to that of Europe. The plan is sufficiently elastic, however, to permit the introduction of a foreign object, providing it bears so closely upon the chosen topic that the relation may be easily understood. The international connection of events may always be brought out in the labels.

Models in miniature, objects, and pictures are made to present in engaging fashion an outline sufficiently full to permit understanding of the sequence of cause and effect in our National life, yet simple enough for a child of foreign parentage to comprehend. Excessive detail is omitted as confusing to the youthful mind, which can, however, follow the broad outline. The purpose of the exhibit is the induction of civic and National spirit, of loyalty to the traditions of this Nation, and especially that of the truth mentioned above—that liberty means obedience to law. The foreign-born is instructed to bring the nobler traditions of his mother country to the advancement of this Nation. Our obligation to the people of other lands is acknowledged in divers ways in all the collections of the

A CHILDREN'S MUSEUM

museum, and takes shape in the history collection in the models of the chief types of people who were early settlers here, which forms Section II. In the years since 1905 the collection has been greatly enriched by gifts and purchase.

Models, objects, and pictures are grouped in five sections, of which the first is practically finished, and to which a sixth will be added when time and space shall permit. The order for study is:

Section I.—European Sovereigns and Navigators: American Indians (the Europeans placed first because the study of history is approached from the standpoint of the white race).

Section II.—Settlement and Colonial Periods.

Section III.—The Six Wars.

Section IV.—New York State and City.

Section V.—Brooklyn and Long Island.

Sections IV and V may seem to overlap. But they do not. Until recently, historically speaking, Brooklyn was a separate entity. The fact of its now being a borough of New York City finds place on the labels wherever necessary, and is not allowed to be forgotten. Brooklyn and Long Island are so united historically and in the present daily life of the inhabitants that the children naturally think of them in combination.

The Sixth Section will present briefly, probably in single models, typical important events in the other States of the Union.

At the entrance to the large room one finds these two panel-shaped forewords:

HISTORY

"History presents complete examples. Experience is doubly defective: we are born too late to see the *beginning* and we die too soon to see the *end* of many things. History supplies both of these defects: modern history shows the *causes* when experience presents the *effects* alone: and ancient history enables us to guess at the *effects* when experience presents the *causes* alone."—Bolingbroke,

AMERICAN HISTORY. WHAT TO LEARN FROM THE HISTORY EXHIBIT.

To us, "Citizens of the Commonwealth of New York, by the Grace of God, Free and Independent," according to the quaint legal wording, the date 1609,—when Henry Hudson passed and named Sandy Hook, anchored in Gravesend Bay and landed on Coney Island, thus bringing civilization and commerce that founded this commonwealth—seems most important.

As citizens of this commonwealth it is our duty to study its history and to

gain intimate knowledge of the men and women through whose efforts it was made "Free and Independent." Though they sometimes erred—being but mortal—in the main they were brave men and sweet women of fine character, who, for the sake of freedom—for themselves and more especially for their children—endured the hardships of the pioneer and often gave up their lives.

Let us honor them with the loyalty of loving children and pass on to our descendants a heritage bettered through our efforts.

New York is but one of the many States composing our Union. All have great records. As citizens of these United States, therefore, let us so conduct ourselves that our country may be the better for our living and Our Flag be everywhere recognized as the emblem of a noble nation.

SECTION I

This contains the charts, a model of *The Half Moon* (*De Halve Maene*) in which Hudson came to New York, a type-model of the Indians that he saw, examples of Indian money and the shells of which it was made, and Indian relics and implements, mainly from Long Island. The Indians modeled are of the Gowanus tribe (Gowanus being a part of Brooklyn), and they are pictured as digging the clams whose shells were used in the making of wampum and suckanhock. For Long Island, called by the Indians "Seawanhaka," or "Isle of Shells," was practically the Indian's mint, a very large amount of the Indian money being made here.

The use of Gowanus Indians as typical of the race is in accordance with the plan of presenting a fact through what is local, wherever possible. Boys are especially interested in these Indians because the label says that "Their favorite game was FOOTBALL."

SECTION II

Nearly every nation of Europe was represented in the early settlers of America, but six great types formed permanent settlements here. They were from Spain, France, England, and the Netherlands, three coming from England: the Cavalier; the New Englander, formed by the blending of the Pilgrims and the Puritans; and the "Quaker," or "Friend," that dominated Pennsylvania and adjacent sections, many of them finding homes on Long Island. These types are shown in the models of Section II.

They are in specially constructed cases, furnished with a screen, through the openings of which one views each distinct from the other, and may note that they are placed in chronological sequence. Electric illumination of each scene

A CHILDREN'S MUSEUM

lends a dramatic charm which commends it to the attention of the passing visitor. The flag of the nation represented is placed in designation.

In a descriptive article published when these were put on view, the *New York Herald* says: "Both the buildings and people of the time and types shown are represented in these miniature scenes, in the construction of which no pains were spared to make them as realistic and perfect in detail as possible"; and the *New York Sun* speaks of the models as "historical documents, telling their story in wood, papier mache, textiles and some dozens of other materials instead of in paint or printer's ink."

The *Museum News* for January, 1908, a publication devoted to the interests of the Brooklyn Institute Museums, contains this description:

THE HISTORICAL ROOM AND ITS EXHIBITS

The Spanish came in search of fabulous wealth, and after the manner of their time, the conquerors were horribly cruel and superstitious, but with them came the brothers of the missionary orders of the Roman Catholic Church, who founded missions among the Indians and in many instances left records of great kindness and efficient leadership. The Spanish model shows the ambulatory of such a mission, as may still be found in California and the Southwest, opening upon a garden. The Franciscan priest, a man past middle life, is listening to the plan of an ardent young Spanish soldier for founding another mission further up the coast of California. In the gravel path, with his sword, the soldier has just drawn a plan of the proposed mission and the route to be followed in reaching the spot. He is clothed in the rich costume of the military of that time and ornamented with jewels supposed to have been captured in war.

The French were among the earliest explorers here. The traders and Jesuit priests, knowing the forest and Indians, were practically leaders in the great expeditions to the interior and south of this continent, sent out under French officers. The priest was fearless in carrying religion to the Indians undeterred by the miseries of life among the savages.

The French model shows Father Jogues, chief among the missionaries to the Hurons, being canoed by one of the Huron converts toward a village hid at the edge of the wilderness. Just as the canoe rounds a point, a French trader, clad in garments of skin and traveling on snow shoes, approaches through the forest and meets the missionary.

The Cavalier, one of the three English types, laid the foundation of the first permanent English colony in America. Early comers suffered hardships, but later arrivals, usually of the aristocratic class, brought retainers, servants, and ample household furnishings.

The Cavalier scene shows a richly dressed young lady, standing on the porch

steps of her comfortable red-brick mansion home, courtesying to the Cavalier, who has just dismounted from his thoroughbred riding horse. The fine garden surrounding the home, the cultivated shrubbery, and the picturesque costumes of the men and women of that class stand out in contrast to the rough surroundings of the Spanish and French pioneers already mentioned.

The Dutch came for trade in furs and through commerce effected peaceful relations with the Indians.

The model shows the log hut of a Dutch trader at a Trading Post set in the wilderness near Fort Orange, the present site of Albany, New York. Here are also the Dutch trader and his family, with as many of the home comforts as could be brought in the small sloop or river boat of those days. In the yard are swine, for the Dutch had to have sausages, and seated near the front door is the trader bargaining with a group of friendly Indians, who have come to offer bearskins for steel hatchets, jackknives, and other cheap trinkets.

The New England, second of the English types which became distinctive in the Seventeenth Century, after the ideas of Pilgrims and Puritans had been modified by place and circumstance, is represented by a scene whose setting presents the parlor of a typical New England home about 1750, the room and furnishings modeled from actual objects and the costumes from old paintings. The wall paper, however, "in Chinese style," then much the fashion, is a genuine antique dating to about the time of the model. Elegance of finish characterizes the woodwork, the "beaufet" in the corner being the favorite form of cupboard for the display of fine china and silver. The scene shows the afternoon call from the minister, and the family assembled to meet him. Tea is being served at the mahogany "pie-crust table," with sponge cake, made after the recipe used in families of quality in New England—beginning "Take the weight of ten eggs in flour." The mother, clad in a figured afternoon gown, is seated in a chair of Chippendale make, the father remains standing as he chats with the minister, while the son of the family is aiding the baby daughter to walk by means of "leading strings."

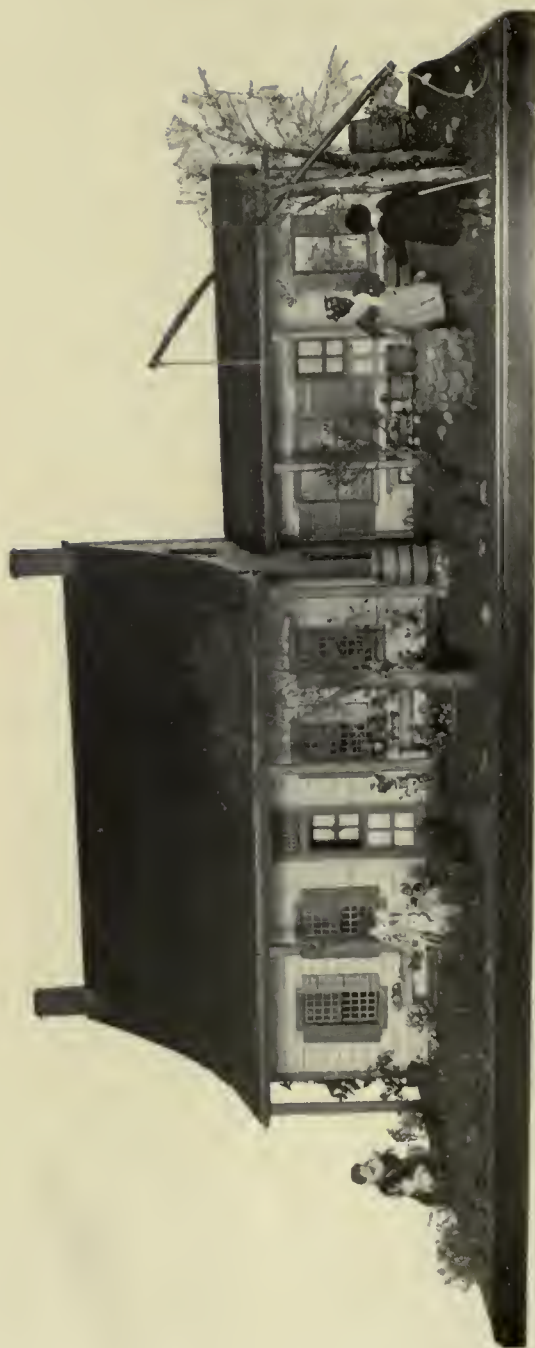
The "Quakers" or "Friends," third of the English types desiring freedom in religion, came here among early Massachusetts colonists, and afterwards, in consequence of persecution from the Puritans, found refuge on Long Island and the mainland as far south as Philadelphia. The Quaker costume was adopted about 1800.

A group of Quakers at a "Quilting-Bee" is shown in the model. A "name quilt" is being made for a bride's setting-out, each square the gift of a friend and marked with that friend's name and date. The women are all clad in the modest, plain gowns of the Quaker women, with white caps and kerchiefs. Entering the door of the kitchen are the "men folks" who know the quilting is soon to be stopped in preparation for the supper, to which they are invited guests.



INDIANS SELLING FURS TO DUTCH TRADER AT FORT ORANGE (NOW ALBANY,
NEW YORK), 1623
A model at the Children's Museum

1223



A DUTCH HOMESTEAD, ABOUT 1640
A Model at the Children's Museum

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The chronological arrangement of these models and the realistic effect of their composition and setting adapt them especially for the historic instruction of children. We are glad to note that teachers are already bringing classes to study the models in connection with their class work in Colonial history, and far more pleased to observe that after the children have made their first visit they are pretty sure to come many times to see the "doll houses."

Included in this section is a large number of interesting small objects, put on a sloping base in the lower portion of the cases containing the type models, large objects, such as spinning wheels, set on top of the cases, and choice pictures. Among them are D. Huntington's engraving of "Lady Washington's Reception," and W. S. Bather's etching of "The Fur Collar Portrait" of Benjamin Franklin, by J. S. Duplessis, now in the Philadelphia Academy of Fine Arts.

SECTION III

Bather's etching of Stuart's Washington, with remark of "Washington Crossing the Delaware," after Leutze's picture, is one of the fine examples in the picture series of Section III, the "Six Wars" Section, which has also "Washington and His Generals," by A. H. Ritchie, and "Washington's Farewell to His Army," by A. E. Gow,—of double interest here as having taken place over in Manhattan Borough,—and Edward J. Russell's copy of "The United States Frigate *Constitution* Riding at Anchor During a Gale in the Harbor of Marseilles," by Étienne Roux.

In a series that is to consist of nine, six type-model groups have been finished for this section. They begin with "The First Commissioned Military Officer in New England," Myles Standish, who, in armor, and carrying the matchlock, stands in the snow before the meeting house and fort on Burial Hill, Plymouth, Massachusetts.

The French and Indian Wars are represented by "The Frontiersman," in his serviceable suit of deerskin, ambushed at the edge of a forest and firing with a flintlock at a crouching Indian enemy in the near distance.

The Revolution is typified in the meeting of Washington and John Paul Jones at "Headquarters" (the old Vassall House), in Cambridge, Massachusetts, while the youthful artist, Trumbull, looks up from his sketching of the fortifications about Boston to observe the noted men.

Great events of the period of the War of 1812—the period in this case meaning more than just the War itself—brought so much honor to the navy, and took place in such widely separated parts of the world, that two models have been given to it. The first presents Perry on the deck of the *Lawrence*, when he is carrying the flag with its famous motto and stops to speak to the sailing master,

who points to the British ships, shown in the background as they are coming down the channel to give battle. On the deck is a model of the carronade or "Short 32," which its crew is just training on the enemy. The second shows Decatur and the Dey of Algiers' representative signing the treaty in the cabin of the *Guerriere*.

"Indian Warfare" depicts a scene in Wyoming, in the campaign of 1877 against the Nez Percés. This was made in advance of its place in sequence, because I found, last summer, that I could have expert aid in the preparation of the design and in making of certain detail.

Type models of the Mexican War and the War with Spain are not yet designed. That for the Civil War is just begun. In outline it will show Lincoln and a group of his Generals discussing a plan of campaign. He has come to northern Virginia for that purpose. The conference is being held on the lawn of a shell-ruined mansion. One of the men happens to look toward it and sees, at the base of a shattered tree, a child's play place, with little red wagon, a tiny pail tipped over and spilling gravel, an iron spade, a rag doll, and a little sun-bonnet, from which the weather has not yet removed all trace of careful ironing. The men, several of whom are fathers, are touched by this, and from thinking of the enemy in mass, they advance to a pitying sense of the human beings that must be destroyed in order to win the battle.

This is a true incident. When I was a child, an army officer, an old friend of my father, came to the house, and, seeing my iron spade on the floor, he sighed as he said, pointing to it: "That reminds me of a very sad time in the Civil War." "How can my baby's agricultural toy do that?" my father asked, and then the officer told the above incident, which made a deep impression upon me. As usual, when I plan anything that can have personal verification, I submitted this incident and the sketch to one familiar with the conditions, Colonel Lewis R. Stegman, Chairman of the New York Battlefield Monument Commission, a veteran of the Civil War, who took the time from his onerous duties in preparation for the encampment at Gettysburg, in celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the battle, to study and approve them.

Because of the centennial celebration this year of the Battle of Lake Erie (September 10, 1813), the readers of *The Journal of American History* may be interested in the text of both regular and supporting labels of the 1812 groups. They are:

WAR OF 1812—1812-1815
PERRY AND THE BATTLE OF LAKE ERIE

Few naval victories have been greater than this, won by the genius, executive ability, and force of personality of Oliver Hazard Perry at twenty-seven years of age. Lake Erie was held by the British, under Barclay, one of Nelson's vet-

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erans. The Americans needed to gain control and Perry obtained permission to undertake the enterprise, perhaps urged to this by remembrance of his father's sufferings when confined for eight months in the prison ship *Jersey*. Perry was sixth in descent from William Wallace, of Scotland.

Ships, equipment and men were lacking. The first were built for the battle at Erie (Presque Isle of the French and Indian War), out of green wood; equipment was teamed from this city and Philadelphia; some of the brave fighting men were from the fleet at New London; the majority, however, recruited from the Pennsylvania militia, were without naval training. But two of the vessels, the *Lawrence*, named for the gallant commander of the *Chesapeake*, and the *Niagara*, could be considered men-of-war. Others were without bulwarks, crews and guns exposed to the fire of the enemy, while five had planking two and a half inches thick and could be set aleak by a musket ball. The *Lawrence* was one hundred and ten feet long and twenty-nine feet wide and could have carried as a merchantman three hundred tons of grain. She was armed as a salt-sea brig, with eighteen "short 32s" or "carronades," placed broadside, to fire abeam, and two long twelve-pounders, chase guns, at bow and stern, all on the upper or spar deck.

The model shows Perry on the *Lawrence* as the enemy appears, and his sailing master objects to engaging them at windward. Perry replies: "To windward or to leeward, they shall fight today," the British having refused an earlier challenge. The midshipman is James Perry, the commander's twelve-year-old brother. The cannon is a "short 32." The American line formed at eleven a. m. (September 10, 1813), the signal for action being a flag bearing the dying words of Lawrence, "Don't give up the ship," hoisted at the masthead. At half past two p. m., Perry left the sinking *Lawrence* for the *Niagara*, and fifteen minutes after this flagship went into action the first of the British ships struck its colors. Shortly after three o'clock the victory was won, and at four o'clock, on the back of an old letter, using his cap for a desk, Perry wrote his famous dispatch to General W. H. Harrison: "We have met the enemy and they are ours."

WAR OF 1812—1812-1815

DECATUR AND THE BARBARY STATES TREATIES

"Stolen by Barbary pirates. Never heard from," appears after many a name on the family record in old Bibles owned by American families of the Atlantic seaboard. Or, if it was known that the captive lived, family and friends impoverished themselves in order to send money for ransom. *Sometimes* he returned and told the horrors of his captivity. Small wonder, then, that the brave men of the navy who fought these pirates were worshipped as heroes and that chief admiration was bestowed upon Decatur, who burned the *Philadelphia*, set the captives free, and concluded the final treaties wherein the United States insisted that

the only conditions of peace were absolute relinquishment of all claim to tribute in the future and a guarantee that American commerce would not be molested by the Corsairs.

In 1812 Algiers violated her treaty with the United States. Soon as the war was over, President Madison sent a fleet to the Mediterranean; Decatur, in the *Guerriere*, in command of one squadron. He reached there first, captured the Algerian flagship, *Mashouda*, in an engagement in which the daring Admiral Rais Hammeda, "the terror of the Mediterranean," was killed, then (June 28, 1815) anchored before Algiers. In response to signals, the captain of the port came to the ship and received the President's missive. He urged the commissioner to land and enter upon negotiations. Decatur said that the treaty would be negotiated upon the *Guerriere* or not at all, and after several attempts at delay, it was signed there (June 30, 1815). The model shows the signing, the captain of the port acting for the Dey of Algiers. The representatives of the signatory powers are seated. Decatur is modeled after the picture by Sully, now in the Controller's office, Manhattan, painted by order of the Corporation of the City of New York in commemoration of the great day (January 1, 1813) when the *United States* and the *Macedonian* sailed into the harbor, and the Corporation gave Decatur the freedom of the city. Officers and men on the *Guerriere* were the survivors of those serving under Decatur on the *Chesapeake*, the *United States*, and the *President*. The scene adapted from a picture in Walton's "The Army and Navy of the United States."

"Brave, loyal, steadfast, tender and true, Stephen Decatur has been fittingly called 'The Bayard of the Sea.'"

The following three labels are without headings:

Perry's five brothers became officers in the United States Navy. Matthew Calbraith, ten years younger than Oliver Hazard, was noted in the War with Mexico (1846-1848), and commanded the expedition to Japan (1852), which opened the way to friendly relations between the nations.

The guns from Perry's fleet were last fired at the opening of the Erie Canal, in October, 1825. Placed at intervals along its line, they sent the news ahead, so that in two hours from the time the first boat left Buffalo, the fact was known in this city.

Decatur and Perry received their early training in Preble's Mediterranean fleet, often called "The nursery of the navy," or "The training school of the War of 1812." The Commodore had great influence in shaping the characters of young officers serving under him.

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WAR OF 1812—1812-1815

NATIONAL SONGS

Two of our national songs date to this period. "Hail, Columbia," was written in 1798 by Joseph Hopkinson for a Philadelphia theater at a time when great excitement prevailed throughout the United States because of the treatment of our envoys to France. "The Star-Spangled Banner" was written the morning after the Battle of Baltimore (September 12, 1814), by Francis Scott Key, the young American poet. Detained with the British fleet during the night, he had eagerly watched the flag on Fort McHenry, which he could see in the light of the powder flashes. "At the dawn's early light" he rejoiced to find "that our flag was still there."

In the label for the type-model setting forth Indian Warfare, the former policy of the United States Government receives adverse comment, the only time, thus far, that this has occurred in the Museum's effort to teach United States history. Here is the label:

INDIAN WARFARE

To the American Indian the coming of the white race equalled the invasion of Goths and Vandals. Like other invaders, colonists here felt that the people displaced had few rights to be respected. It must be remembered that the civilized world had then little experience in dealing with primitive people; it was an intolerant, fearing, superstitious age; the colonists, experiencing injustice in Europe and not advanced beyond retaliatory spirit, brought race hatred and international strife to complicate the "Indian Problem," peculiarly its own, which the United States inherited. So, in addition to SIX WARS this nation has suffered grievously from Indian warfare, most of it needless. Until recent years there was *no national effort to understand the Indian* and insufficient national imagination to make a working hypothesis out of "Put yourself in his place." Instead of sustained, sane endeavor to cultivate friendly relations and to advance him by influence of honest dealing and humane treatment, the opposite course was pursued. Treaties were made only to be broken—by the United States. The vaunted Anglo-Saxon "love of fair play" was conspicuous by its absence. It is not reasonable to blame the government. Put the blame where it belongs. National imagination, or conscience, is but a concrete of that of the individuals composing the nation. Secretary Stanton said: "When the hearts of the people are touched the Indian will be saved."

The brave men of our army know that Indians as foes are to be dreaded. As friends they are staunch and true. This scene presents a troop of United

States cavalry, part of Cook's command, breaking camp in the Wyoming mountains during the campaign of 1877, against the Nez Percés (pron. *na-percy*.) A troop had seventy-eight members. Of these are shown the scout, far ahead; the captain in the lead, talking with the doctor; the second lieutenant, the first probably being away on recruit duty, and the sergeant. The lieutenant, observing the head packer of the mule train "joshing" the youngest packer about the "cinching" of the mules, tells them to "Quit your fooling and hurry." (The cinching is right. It was done by the doctor with the troop in this campaign, who described the scene that it might be prepared for the Children's Museum.) The mules carry mountain artillery, small but effective bronze cannon, the carriage, in sections, and ammunition in the blue boxes. On reaching ambush it is the work of a moment only to unpack, mount, load and fire. There are about forty mules in the train. Signs of the camp will be left in the empty olive bottle and tomato cans, etc. The officers had the olives. Troopers drink tomato juice because it quenches thirst to a remarkable degree and saves the precious water in the canteen for a time of greater need. When possible, troopers camp by a spring.

The statements of the large label are given backing in these two small labels presenting apposite quotations:

"The army are not responsible for Indian wars. They are 'Men under authority' who go where they are sent. The men who represent the honor of the nation have a tradition that lying is a disgrace, and that theft forfeits character. General Crook expressed the feeling of the army when he replied to a friend who said: 'It is hard to go on such a campaign.' 'Yes, it is hard; but sir, the hardest thing is to go and fight those whom you know are in the right.'"—H. B. Whipple, Bishop of Minnesota, in preface to "A Century of Dishonor."

"It is not our purpose nor province to discuss in any way the Indian problem, which has, for so many years, perplexed the country; but this much may be said in passing: that if all the massacres, cruelty and bloody barbarism of the Indians were put in one balance, and all the perfidy, heartless oppression and villainy of the white man in the other balance, the scale, if it inclined either way, would be in favor of the red man."—From Appletons "Our Native Land."

In the arms collection, now grown large, and chronologically arranged in two separate cases, the Civil War is that most adequately represented. In addition to the accoutrement of the fighting man there are four models: two each,

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one a cross-section, of the *Monitor* and the *Merrimack*, made to scale of one-half inch to the foot, the work of Charles R. Luscombe, a former museum modeller. These attract much attention, the detail being emphasized in tiny name labels affixed to each portion.

Mr. Luscombe modeled also the carronade, kedge anchors, boarding irons and axes, etc., and ship, of the Perry model, and his skill is shown in parts of many of the history models. The "Detail Sheet of the Carronade or 'Short 32' 6-inch Muzzle-Loading Cannon," which gave Mr. Luscombe his working drawing, is framed and hangs near the Perry model. It was the gift of Robert Westmore, of the United States Naval Electrical Class (1910), at the Navy Yard, and was prepared by him from a carronade standing near the Sands Street Gate, especially for the Perry model. The kedge anchors, etc., were made from drawings supplied by Andrew Olsson, chief electrical gunner (1910) of the U. S. S. *Michigan*. It is difficult now to get correct information in regard to these old fighting sailing ships.

While each *war* is represented by distinctive weapons, the arms collection yet lacks a matchlock, to illustrate the Standish, or first settlers' period. The series begins with the flintlock.

In the Six Wars Section is placed much in American history that is connected with war, such as a list of the Presidents, the Commanders-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, a history of the Flag, and examples of the money of the country. Frames of uniform size carry each a picture of a President and an epitome of the chief events of his administration, and are hung in double line above a series giving the history of the Flag in similar brief epitome. These labels, accompanying the picture of Washington and the "Pine Tree" Flag, suffice to show the method of both series:

George Washington (1)

Two Terms: 1789-1797

Chief Events.

Creation of Departments of State, Treasury, War, Attorney-General (Justice). Money matters put on firm basis. Admission of Vermont, Kentucky and Tennessee. 1st 10 Amendments to Constitution. Invention of cotton-gin. Seat of government removed from New York to Philadelphia.

The pine tree was a popular emblem. In escutcheon, on a white field, it was the flag of the floating batteries at Boston (1775), and was adopted by the Massachusetts Council as naval flag.

There are a number of supporting labels for the Flag series, among them these quotations:

"No matter what happens to you, no matter who flatters you or who abuses you, never look at another flag, never let a night pass but that you pray God to bless that flag. Remember . . . that behind all these men that you have to do with, behind officers, and government, and people even, there is the country herself, your country, and that you belong to her as you belong to your own mother. Stand by her as you would stand by your mother."—Edward Everett Hale, "The Man Without a Country."

"The first salute ever fired by foreigners in honor of the American flag was by the Dutch. Governor Johannes de Graeff, at the port of St. Eustachius in the West Indies, November 16, 1776, ordered the 'honor-shots.'"—Griffis, "Brave Little Holland."

Above the principal case holding the war type models are framed these lines, printed in large type: "The reason the world honors the soldier is because he holds his life at the service of the State."—Ruskin. "Every history of our navy claims attention first of all as a hero story."—Spears. Near them is posted this label:

SECTION III

ARMY AND NAVY

Military organizations, many of them still in existence, formed the nucleus of our National Army, created by the Continental Congress, June 15, 1776, with George Washington, of Virginia, then forty-three years old, as Major-General and Commander-in-Chief. He took command on July 3, the day before the Declaration of Independence was adopted. This declaration changed the name of the United Colonies of America to the United States of America. "The first stroke afloat for American liberty," was the destruction of the British war schooner, "Gaspe," near Providence, Rhode Island, June 10, 1772. The first navy consisted of thirteen frigates, ordered December 13, 1775, and on December 22 of that year, Esek Hopkins, of Rhode Island, was commissioned as Commander-in-Chief of the fleet. He was called Commodore or sometimes Admiral. After the Revolution both army and navy were virtually disbanded, though a thousand troops were retained. The present United States Navy dates from an act of Congress, April 30, 1798, establishing a Navy Department. By Article II, Section 2, of the Constitution, which went into operation on March 4, 1789, the President was made Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy.

It is proposed sometime to epitomize the history of mechanics, social ad-



THE CAVALIER'S VISIT
Model, showing a Middle-Seventeenth Century scene, at the Children's Museum



PRIEST AND SOLDIER PLANNING A NEW MISSION
Model at the Children's Museum, illustrating the period of the Middle-Eighteenth Century

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vance, etc., of the period of the six wars, in which the advancing steps of the nation are pointed off by the wars. But, as the general label of the section says: "Though our history tells of so many fierce conflicts, the spirit of our people is peaceful. Our influence has been for the promotion of peace." At the end of this section is offered

SOMETHING TO THINK ABOUT

A noted bridge builder said that suspension bridges mark the advance of the spirit of brotherhood. "In very old times," said he, "a community settled wherever a broad, deep, swiftly flowing river gave protection through separation from an enemy—and nearly every other community was an enemy. Now, we try by every means in our power to bridge such rivers, that we may have easy communication with our friends—our neighbors."

So these war models, weapons and pictures, mark advance in the spirit of brotherhood, *if rightly observed*. Think of the difference in power and rapidity of action between the matchlock that Myles Standish carried and the ten-pound shell from Iona Island. Think of the applied ethics in Captain Philip's words and action in the Spanish War, when he said: "Don't cheer, boys; those poor fellows are dying," and sent his men to help the survivors. There are many such instances. As the "Art of Warfare" has advanced until explosives have attained such perfection that if equal opponents were to fire at the one moment, both would be exterminated, nations are pausing and thinking: "What advantage has war? Is there no better way to settle our differences? Is it good economics to use educated men as targets? Under present conditions we must have our armies and navies, but will there not be other work that needs just the quality of intelligence, daring and heroism possessed by our brave fighters?" And so the idea of Arbitration emerges in the Hague Tribunal—new, for nations to hold, but not new for humanitarians.

Isaiah and Micah, late in the Seventh Century B. C., prophesied that the Lord's House shall be established, all nations shall flow into it; He will teach us His ways, and shall judge among the nations, "and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks: nation shall not lift a sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." Ecclesiastes, the Preacher of the Second Century B. C., says, "Wisdom is better than weapons of war," and our own Longfellow, in "The Arsenal at Springfield," a wartime poem that closes with a prophecy of the time when peace and love shall govern the world, says:

"Were half the power, that fills the world with terror,
Were half the wealth, bestowed on camp and courts,
Given to redeem the human mind from error,
There were no need of arsenals or forts:

"The warrior's name would be a name abhorred!
And every nation, that should lift again
Its hand against a brother, on its forehead
Would wear forevermore the curse of Cain."

SECTIONS IV AND V

Beyond a general label and some pictures, little has been done as yet with Section IV, New York State and City. But Section V has its large, general label, much about first settlements in Brooklyn and on Long Island, the "Dutch Homestead" type-group and many maps, pictures, and objects. This was "rushed" for the Hudson-Fulton Celebration, the "Catalogue of the Historical Collection and Objects of Related Interest at the Children's Museum," being the publication of the Brooklyn Institute for that occasion. For, "As a part of the Hudson-Fulton Celebration it was planned that some of the larger public educational institutions of New York should issue catalogues of such portions of their collections as related to the discoveries of Hudson or the Inventions of Fulton, and allotments for this purpose were made by the Hudson-Fulton Celebration Commission to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, American Museum of Natural History, New York Zoological Park, New York Botanical Garden and the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences."

A Hudson-Fulton medal was the reward for the work accomplished. For the celebration large cards of information were prominently posted, saying that the history of New York begins with the discovery by Hudson of New York Bay and the Hudson River, and that history at the Children's Museum may be said to centre on the year 1609, when Hudson landed at Coney Island (a part of Brooklyn); and presenting information about what Hudson must have seen along this shore, and about the Indians who first saw him, the Canarsees. Posters were also placed in the Geography, Botany, and Mineralogy Rooms, the Dutch Flag and orange ribbon were much in evidence. The words of the two Dutch songs, given below, were framed in bows of orange ribbon and put with the "Dutch Homestead" scene, where they proved themselves so popular that they still remain.

TROTTING SONG

This ancient nursery jingle of Holland was sung to their baby by the Patroon and his wife. It is like our

"This is the way the ladies ride—
Ti-canter! Ti-canter! Ti-canter!"

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The baby is set upon the knee or foot of the one holding him, and "trotted." With the last line he is held high above the head until he laughs *heartily*, when he is brought down and given "a good kiss."

"Trip a trop a troonjes!
De varkens in de boonjes,
De koeltjes in de klaver,
De paarden in de haver,
De eendjes in de water plas,
De kalf in de lang gras:—
So-o groot myn kleine poppetje was!"

In reading this remember that *J* is pronounced like *Y* in Dutch. The following is a rough translation:

"Riding on thy parent's knee
Thou shalt ever happy be!—
As the little pigs among the beans,
The cows among the clover,
The horses among the oats,
The ducks splashing in the water,
The calf in the long grass.—
So great (high) my little baby is."

ORANJE BOVEN

"Will you have a pink knot?
It is blue you prize?
One is like a fresh rose,
One is like your eyes.
No, the maid of Holland,
For her own true love,
Ties the splendid orange,
Orange still above!
*O oranje boven!**
Orange still above.

"Will you have the white knot?
No, it is too cold.
Give me splendid orange,
Tint of flame and gold;

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Rich and glowing orange,
For the heart I love;
Under, white and pink and blue;
Orange still *above*!
O oranje boven!
Orange still above!"

Translation—Amelia E. Barr—"The Bow of Orange Ribbon."

* Pronounced *O-ran-ya boven*.

Before the plan for a group may be formulated the period it is to represent must be carefully studied. People must not be put in a scene unless they could really have been there. An instance of the difficulty experienced at times appeared when it was desired to incorporate Washington, Jones, and Trumbull in the Revolution model. Had they or could they have met in Boston at any time between July 3, 1776, and the succeeding April? This question involved months of research, until, finally, one of the librarians of the Long Island Historical Society Library found the fact mentioned in an old book. I told her that I "felt it in my bones" that such must be the case, for, as I remembered, my father, who knew some of the Trumbulls, and was always accurate in all he told me about history, had mentioned such an event.

But I do not depend upon memory for this history exhibit. I like to give book and page in support of what I make, or to be able to refer to a person. When the question of historic accuracy is settled, then arise those of setting, proportion, grouping, and color, as important as in a stage presentation. To complicate matters these must be accurate in the historic sense. One mistake here would cause some observer to be blind to all else in the whole exhibit. Knowledge of the cut and material of the costume, with measurement to decide the amount required, must precede the shopping preliminary to the making of the figure models, for some of the accessories are expensive. Such, for instance, was the true-lover's knot of gold with the diamond chip in the centre (which eventually did not have to be bought, as one was donated by a friend of the writer), that ornaments the plumed hat of the Cavalier, and the jewelled clasp of the Spanish soldier's cloak. His costume, by the way, was one that taxed my power of investigation for a long time, and even that of trained librarians. We could find costume of Spanish soldiers, but not for just that period. Here the Long Island Historical Society Library again came to the rescue, with a little help from the Spanish Consulate, the Consulate also aiding to establish the identity of the flag used aot that time. For in the course of four hundred years flags have changed

far more than the average student would guess. With all this goes study of the character and personality of the one it is desired to model, complexion and color of the hair often modifying the color scheme. Then, it must be remembered, the color scheme of the individual model must be subordinate to that of the whole series. The time of the year must not be the same in adjacent models and the composition of each must vary sufficiently to prevent monotony.

In preparation of the Indian Warfare group, western geology and flora had to be considered. I had been in Wyoming and was therefore somewhat familiar with the conditions that I desired to present, and I had made pencil sketches of some of the examples of erosion. Herbert B. Judy, the museum artist, refreshed my memory of the color, showing me his recent sketches in oil, and he very kindly gave me the palette for them, which was a considerable help.

To assist in depicting the beautiful Alpine fir, *Abies lasiocarpa*, the Government's collection of photographs, was drawn upon, G. W. Sudsworth, dendrologist of the Bureau of Forestry, loaning a picture which brought with it unexpected assistance, for various facts about the tree, which I desired to know, were included in the data placed upon the card-mount. When finished, all the painted trees were approved by J. J. Levison, M. F., Forester of the Brooklyn Department of Parks.

Before making the final sketch of this group, I submitted my ideas for it to Edward Gibson, M. D., of Brooklyn, a former surgeon in the United States Army, a participant in Crook's campaign against the Nez Perces and a staunch admirer of the Indians. He approved the preliminary sketch, gave enlightening facts as to the detail of the camp and equipment, especially of the mule-pack, for which he made sketches and even made and stuffed the tiny pack saddle. Then, when the modeled parts of the pack were assembled, he even came to the Children's Museum and "cinched" the mules.

One who has passed through the experiences of such a life can give so many facts of human interest not otherwise obtainable that his information is of inestimable value in the preparation of scenes like these. For instance, Doctor Gibson happened to speak of the use of canned tomatoes and olives by men on the march, so I modeled the emptied tomato cans and threw among this débris of the camp meal an old olive bottle—which is a tiny specimen holder used by microscopists, suitably painted. The cans were formed of tinfoil shaped over a pencil and painted. The other "human interest" touch in this is the neck handkerchiefs, which do not represent the taste of the owner, but that of the camp storekeeper. These items have delighted army men who have come to the museum.

Wyoming scenery and conditions are so different from those of the East that, thus relating the setting to exhibits in the Geography and Botany rooms of the museum, I prepared this

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INFORMATION FOR NATURE LOVERS

Irrigation has done much for Wyoming, but in 1878, though it was thickly wooded on the hills and along the river bottoms, there were vast arid plains where sage brush and greasewood were about all that grew, with perhaps an occasional juniper. The flora is markedly different from that of the East. On the talus of the chalk cliffs through which the river is the scene—one of the Platte system—has cut its way, grow the narrow leaved cottonwood, the red-fruited hawthorn and wild plums. Farther from the water are the trees earlier mentioned and a few forlorn looking red cedars and stunted yellow pines. The Rockies and many ranges of mountains wind through the State. At an altitude of about 6,000 feet, cottonwood begins to be displaced by aspens. Between 8,000 and 1,000 feet, a heavy growth of the Engelmann spruce and Douglass fir begins. The higher forest is markedly coniferous. On the plateau where the troopers ride grow the beautiful Alpine fir, *Abies lasiocarpa*, sometimes called the "white-bark," a balsam that often forms a perfect symmetrical cone; "the splendid and spiry Engelmann," *Picea Engelmanni*, a variety of western white spruce, that stands at the center of the crag at the back, between two Douglass firs, *Pseudotsuga taxifolia*. Small members of the Engelmanni family and more *Abies* make up the group, which shows comparatively young trees. So immense are they at maturity that to present adult foreground specimens of size proportionate to men and animals would require too much space.

Strange rock formations appear in this part of our country. On all the higher summits are records of the ice age. Craggs at the crest of mountains are oftenest granite. "The god of erosion works incessantly and rapidly dissecting the earth and rocks." Erosions weathering, subsidence and erection have united in producing the rocks in the scene. The hard top stratum makes a cap for the tallest rock, a similar cap having fallen onto a lower hard stratum in the rock next, when intermediate softer layers of red and yellow sandstone have "weathered out." The top strata have entirely disappeared from the lower rocks. Growing among the fallen rocks are tufts of buffalo grass and a few of a variety of small yellow sunflower, abundant in Wyoming, which the troopers called "Kiote's-eye."

Labels are printed on cards of selected size, but label writing exceeds other space writing in laboriousness, for its value is dependent upon condensation instead of spread. While the model is of one typical scene, the label must describe that and give also a concise epitome of the period represented.

The model groups vary in size, from the single figure mounted on a base eight by ten inches, with upright at the back only, to groups thirty-one inches

in length, seventeen in depth, and with an upright of eighteen inches. They average twenty-two inches in length, twelve in depth, and fifteen in height.

The New England model is set in a room designed after one in Woodstock, Connecticut, which is the parlor of a house of the period—about 1760. It was comparatively easy to get photographs from which to make working models for the furniture and woodwork, but the wall paper and curtains seemed to offer insuperable obstacles. I thought I should have to paint both, and that would consume much time. However, I was lucky. One morning, the Librarian of the Museum, Miss Miriam S. Draper, appeared in an attractive shirt waist of thin material, having tiny geometrical figures on a cream ground. I said to myself, "Praise be!"—and to Miss Draper, "I'll have to ask you to give me that shirt waist immediately, so I can make curtains of it for the New England scene"—and she actually gave me that material.

But the paper was still wanting. It must either be "in Chinese style" or a landscape. At length, a store recommended a visit to "the oldest wallpaper house in New York. I went. The present representative of the ancient firm became interested in my quest, hunted through no end of old samples, and at length found a piece of miniature copy of a wall paper of about 1760, made for the covering of small boxes. It was in the correct red and blue tints. "Everything comes in time to him who will wait," quoted the proprietor, putting this into my eager hands. So the Children's Museum has "the real thing" in wall paper of 1760.

Those were not the only things for which I hunted. The morion, or helmet, worn by the Spanish soldier, had to have a special look-up, for it was not clear enough for copy in the pictures that showed his costume. After having had translated descriptions in Spanish and French, a German book was found to have a suitable picture, which a translation of the accompanying text showed to be of the nationality in armor that was required. Then it had to be made. The hammerhead, which had served me for a block in other head coverings, was inadequate to this, and as no more suitable block offered than my thumb, I used that. It did fairly well, though it got a little tired, as such miniature work is slow. The morion is modeled in silver foil with inlay of gold foil.

The soldier's hair is made of astrachan, pulled apart and set in with forceps. The priest's is of cotton. His beads are of bird seed, representing olive wood. Cotton also makes the puff of smoke from the *voyageur's* pipe in the French scene and the wigs for the father and the minister in the New England scene. The cavalier's dark curls and his lady love's golden locks are doll's wigs, cut down to the required size and curled by means of a heated wire nail held in forceps. That was a piece of work! Three persons were needed to accomplish it—one to hold the wig block for me while I curled and dressed the hair, and another to heat the nails for my forceps. For the right degree of heat was slight and the nails soon

cooled. But just plain curls are nothing to the dressing of the pompadour-and-curl wig that adorns the lovely lady in the New England scene, or the making of the baby's soft, curly hair, which had to be set in hair by hair in order to give the right effect.

A pretty Brooklyn girl served as model for the Lady Love in the Cavalier scene. I endeavored to copy the exquisite grace of her sweeping courtesy, but this was not easy, as, instead of a girlish form I had to drape that courtesy, expressed in terms of pale blue liberty silk, over a wire frame, and the dainty foot that peeps out beneath the hem is the only anatomical fact of the lower portion of her body. The porch on which she stands was carved by John Bender, the Museum cabinetmaker.

The settler in the "Dutch Trader" group has two very good hunting dogs, obtained in a toy store. A small boy supplied an idea regarding them. "Those are white man's dogs, aren't they?" he asked. Being told that they were, he said: "Then they would not like the Indians and their ears would be down instead of up." Inquiry confirming this view, the ears were properly manipulated.

While dolls were used in the early groups, it was soon found that they were too inexpressive for character studies, and regularly made models, with wire mount, excelsior or hemp cover and finish of a papier mache composition were made instead. "Don't call those dolls," said a mature and indignant youth of nine, who was explaining the models to other children. "Those figures are models, not dolls. If they were dolls do you suppose *I* would care for them? Some of that hair was made of cotton. I saw it done. How long do you suppose a doll with cotton hair would last?"

There is no doubt but that he "saw it done." I do much of my work in the laboratory of the Museum, which is in the basement and has its windows partly set in shallow well-holes. Children flock about these windows, giggle over the half-constructed figures, admire the costumes, the settings, and would be a bother except that their interest is so genuine. I bake any twigs that I may use, as once, when I neglected to do so, a pupa emerged, his shell being left in quite a wrong part of the tree, while a most surprised butterfly discovered that a house in scene painting offered him no rest for the soles of his feet. When I made the *Padre*, the children looked on with some awe, and I judged that whatever the socialistic teaching might be, the homes of many were at least nominally of the Roman Catholic creed. They watched with greatest interest the modeling of the serious face and of the hands.

Occasionally, when more light is needed, I work in the lecture room, which has a piazza. Though the lower window blinds are kept closed as a gentle hint to the children that they are not to come into the room, I often hear much puffing and grunts from outside and know that some child is being "boosted" by his fellows in order that he may see what I am doing and report. If the "fellers"

A CHILDREN'S MUSEUM

are quite short it may be that only one eye can "get a line on" me. But that one has such power of sight that it is quite sufficient. They know they must not talk—that is, to me. But those waiting on the outside get an extremely full report of what is going on. Sometimes the appearance of a broad bow following the grunts, kicks, and squeals, gives me advance notice that a girl is made the agent for espionage. Should they find the door into the hall open, rules "don't go," and a line of youngsters tiptoes into the room, and, the first I know that they are there, a soft little voice asks a question. Then I pretend that I have not heard them, and we play that I do not see them, or else we play that I am the teacher, who must describe to them the model that I am making. It is all great fun. They do manage to remember, however, that they must not touch anything on my table, so they stand with their hands behind their backs, lest they shall be unduly tempted. Some children persisted in watching me when the time was approaching for my luncheon. I told them that I must go, and one youngster said: "You go 'nd get yours, 'nd we'll go 'nd get ours, 'nd we'll come back the minute you get back."

"History lectures are among the most popular that I give. The attention is 'just splendid.' Some children come year after year until I think they must know my 'specials' by heart," said Miss Mary Day Lee, A. B., an assistant Curator, who gives the majority of the daily illustrated lectures that are a part of the Museum work during the school year. That children do know them almost 'by heart,' was shown last Washington's Birthday when the lecture had to be judiciously cut, in order to give it sufficiently often for all who came to hear it. Some children cried when refused the privilege of entering the line a second time, saying: "But I *should* go again. Miss Lee left out this time things she said last year."

American history is treated in eight numbers of the regular course; in four "specials"—Election and Columbus Days, Lincoln's and Washington's Birthdays; and in numerous request lectures. Such is Miss Lee's belief in the value of a knowledge of history that, if the subject of a lecture on the grade work of a school be left to her judgment, she chooses history.

Lectures on history were begun after the exhibit was somewhat advanced and in their order follow its development. Those on "Discoverers and Settlers," "North American Indians," and "The French and Indian Wars," are extremely popular, the last named in demand as a "request." When I consider the attitude this nation has, until lately, very generally maintained toward the Indian, I must confess that I am somewhat surprised at the appreciation of him shown by these children," Miss Lee recently observed. Of the special lectures, that for Election Day is on "Manhattan Island and Old New York," the others giving the life of Columbus, of Washington, and of Lincoln, Miss Anna B. Gallup, the Curator of the Museum, relieving Miss Lee in presenting the last mentioned. They are extremely popular, the attendance on the days when they are given having ranged

for the past three years from two thousand five hundred up. Two thousand seven hundred and fifty-two children came on February 12th last, and two thousand nine hundred and twelve on that date in 1912. The attendance might have been larger, except that, as twice before for each of the February specials, it was necessary to close the building. It would have been unsafe and also a physical impossibility, so far as floor and stairway space was concerned, to have permitted more to enter. For the double line went up and down the staircase and into all the exhibition rooms, some children standing on line for two hours. The lecture was repeated ten times.

Approximately five hundred books are given to United States history, some of them in many volumes. In this number are included civics and biography, as the Librarian has found it advantageous to relate the biography of a subject with the subject. Books on Indians are grouped with the history but are not included in the five hundred. In addition to standard works, the library has attractive history-stories, poems, and enough of the more important text books used in the city schools to enable it to keep in close touch with the teaching there. The "local idea" is in evidence in the Library also, for its *Americana* is unusually rich in information about the Borough, City, County, Long Island, and the State. For the greater convenience of the City History Club, this local matter is separately shelved.

When a new history-model is exhibited, a list of the books consulted in its preparation is posted and much consulted by teachers and special students in history. Books are graded to suit all ages. The thumbed condition of certain volumes shows that the thrilling story of the French and Indian Wars, from which Washington, the young surveyor, emerged into the fuller glory of Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army, never loses its charm. Patriotic boys close the volume with a sigh and say to Miss Draper, or to the Assistant Librarian, Miss Marion P. Bolles, "Say, wooden' yer think ol' Braddock would er known enough ter have taken *Washin'ton's* advice?"

Of course, Washington and Lincoln are the beloved heroes and find place on the "Special Day" pictorial bulletins which adorn the Library at appropriate seasons. Other historic days commemorated are Memorial and Flag Days, the Fourth of July, Columbus and Election Days, and Thanksgiving. Friends look out for the Library in the matter of choice pictures for the bulletins, and the children themselves often suggest the poems that shall appear upon them, a favorite being Bennett's "The Flag Goes By," with its stirring refrain of "Hats off," and "Salute," which has had appreciable effect in Brooklyn in increasing the respect shown to the Flag. Text and pictures of the history bulletins are carefully selected. "I desire to show only what will inspire a strong spirit of patriotism," says Miss Draper.

The Children's Museum is delightfully located in an old two-story city-owned

A CHILDREN'S MUSEUM

mansion in Bedford Park, facing Brooklyn Avenue, a fine residential section. The history collection is placed in two upper northwest corner rooms. This Museum was started in December, 1899, as one of the activities of the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences. The building soon became inadequate. In 1907 the erection of a fire-proof building was authorized, and on August 3, 1911, the sum of eighty-two thousand five hundred dollars was appropriated, half of the one hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars which it is eventually to have. But at the present writing (June, 1913), the matter is still in abeyance. Professor Franklin W. Hooper, M. A., LL.D., is the Director of the Institute. William Henry Fox is the Curator of its Museums, there being, in addition to the Children's, the Central Museum, occupying a magnificent building on the Eastern Parkway, near Prospect Park. Mr. Fox was elected to his position on December 3 last, succeeding Frederic A. Lucas, D. Sc., who resigned to become Director of the American Museum of Natural History, in Manhattan Borough. The work in history was begun under Dr. Lucas.

Long unique, the Children's Museum has now received the flattery of imitation in a Museum consciously modeled on it in plan, which was opened in Fairmount Park, Boston, on July 1, and is, like the original, designed to aid in the educational development of the city. The Brooklyn Children's Museum has also other imitators. Everett Miles Loomis, Director of the Museum of the California Academy of Sciences, San Francisco, and William Evans Hoyle, Ph. D., Director of the new National Museum, Cardiff, Wales, include a Children's Museum in their plans for new buildings.

It has been visited, with a view to incorporating its salient features in museums and educational work of other countries, by Special Commissioners T. Kurushima and T. Imai, of Japan, and Prof. Ricardo Calatroni, of the *Collegio Secundario Universidad de la Plata*, Argentina. These men expressed especial appreciation of the appeal of the history exhibit, noticing as well the color scheme of the type-models, which also attracted a representative from the Worcester, Massachusetts, Art Museum, who is working with the children of that city in trying to inspire a knowledge of good furnishing and color scheme in the home. The wish was expressed to borrow the six race type-models for exhibition in Worcester in connection with the museum's educational work. But, except as they have been sent to the Annual Budget Exhibit of the City of New York, they are not allowed to leave the building.

In concluding, I desire to express my gratitude for the aid given by those mentioned in this article and to the many others whose names do not appear, yet who have been of great help. Among them are several of the prominent publishing firms of this country who have given pictures from standard works of history.



ELIZABETH COULTAS LEIPER, DAUGHTER OF GEORGE AND
MARTHA (IBBETSON) GRAY

A Heroine of the War for Independence

Margaret (Ibbetson) Gray, of Old "Whitby Hall," Whose Self-Sacrificing Patriotism Alleviated the Lot of the American Revolutionary Soldiers Held Prisoners by the British in the Walnut Street Prison at Philadelphia, Gratitude of the Continental Officers in 1778 and Their Testimonial Presented to Her, She and Her Husband Noble Examples to Modern America of a Life of Charity, Zeal, and Patriotism

BY

CHARLES WOODRUFF SHIELDS, D. D., LL. D.



AMONG the Daughters of the Revolution a high place should be given to Martha Ibbetson, wife of the Honorable George Gray, of Gray's Ferry, near Philadelphia. She was devoted, heart and soul, to the cause of American independence. Her patriotic services were intelligent, incessant, self-sacrificing, attracted commendation from both the civil and the military authorities of the time, and are now matters of public record rather than of mere family tradition.

The story of her life begins in London, England, where she was born in 1735, the only child of Robert Ibbetson and his wife, Margaret Coultas Ibbetson, of the family of Baronets Ibbetson, in Deneton Park, Yorkshire. He, having been raised in the Moravian faith, had been attracted to the New World by the liberal offers of William Penn for religious freedom at Philadelphia.

His first effort at emigration was unsuccessful. The voyagers had scarcely embarked and were still in sight of the cliffs of Dover, when a violent storm threatened the vessel with destruction. It is said that Ibbetson gave out a hymn to be sung in the hearing of the mariners, upon which it was divinely appointed that the storm should abate. They were able to put back to port at Deal with a view of refitting the vessel, but Mr. Ibbetson considered himself warned of God not to continue on his way, and for the time gave up further intention of emigration until two years later, in 1750, when, it would appear, that his religious zeal impelled him to a second and successful voyage.

The musical notes of the old Moravian hymn, which was sung in peril of shipwreck, have been preserved, together with the words:

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"Oh, tell me no more
Of this world's vain store,
The time for such trifles for
Me now is o'er.
A country I have found where
True joys abound,
To live I'm determined
On that happy ground."

The tradition is that his hymn was afterwards sung in the family for one hundred years. Another tradition is that on his return to London, before the second voyage, Ibbetson had a picture painted of the vessel in shipwreck, which was brought to this country and hung in the house of his great-grandchildren, at 274 Market Street, till the year 1848, when it was sold under the hammer.

The other parent, Margaret Coultas, the mother of Martha Ibbetson, was a daughter of Colonel James Coultas, who was also zealous for the prosperity of the country of his adoption. Born near Whitby, in Yorkshire, England, the son of Henry and Margaret (Chapman) Coultas, he received his early education in England, but immigrated to America sometime before the year 1753. He was one of the Captains and was afterwards chosen Colonel of Associators, a battery company which figured in the defense of the Province from the Indians. It was owing to his energy that the first steps were taken toward rendering the Schuylkill River navigable.

He was not so absorbed in public affairs that he could not indulge in the sports of a country gentleman, as in 1741 he built a stone mansion on the road then known as Coultas' Lane, but now called Gray's Lane, after his successor and heir, George Gray. To this family seat he gave the name of "Whitby Hall" and there lived until his death, in 1768, when his property passed to his wife and from her, in 1769, to her half-brother, George Gray, above mentioned, whose descendants still possess it. The building, with some modern additions, in harmony with the original style, is known as "Whitby Hall" today, and a privileged visitor is sometimes taken to see it as a specimen of our colonial architecture as perfect as exists anywhere in the neighborhood of Philadelphia.

Before leaving London, while still a young girl, Martha Ibbetson, under the tuition of an apothecary surgeon, had acquired so much of his art as qualified her for the Lady Bountiful life to which she was afterward to devote herself, and a year after her arrival in Philadelphia she was still further fitted for her career by her marriage to George Gray, a man of great wealth, a liberal gentleman and a zealous advocate of the cause of the Colonies. He was the fifth of that name in line of descent from George Gray, who came from Barbadoes.

Though born a member of the Society of Friends, at the earliest possible mo-

ment he took part in the military acts of resistance to the British Crown and was a member of the Colonial Assembly of the Committee of Safety, of the Board of War of Pennsylvania, of the Constitutional Convention, and Speaker of the House of Representatives of the State. He had become the owner of an extensive tract, including what is still known as Gray's Ferry, now one of the stations on the Pennsylvania Railroad.

Mrs. Gray was as decided a patriot as her husband, and as actively devoted to the public service in her own sphere of activity.

During the occupation of Philadelphia by the British forces, the sick and wounded American prisoners, amounting at one time to nine hundred men, were confined in the old Walnut Street prison. They were not treated as prisoners of war, but as rebels under arrest. Hunger, thirst, cold, and every species of personal abuse and indignity which the malignity and neglect of a brutal subordinate could inflict upon them, made their condition intolerable. Mrs. Gray constantly administered to their wants, enduring the insolence and overcoming the resistance of their keeper, as only a woman of high character and determined zeal could meet and manage such difficulties. Food and medicine were supplied at her own expense; and the indispensable services of the surgeon and nurse, for which she was so well qualified, were rendered by her own hands. Her courage and constancy overcame all resistance that could be offered her as a benefactress. The baffled officer of the prison charged her with being a spy and she was ordered to leave the city. She appealed to Lord Howe; he withdrew the order, and she held her ground until the British evacuated the city. The American officers who had witnessed and experienced her generous services to the prisoners acknowledged them in the strongest terms of gratitude.

"We, the subscribers, officers in the American Army, now prisoners in Philadelphia, think it our duty in this manner to testify to the obligations we are under, and the respect we entertain for Mrs. Martha Gray, wife of George Gray, Esq., for her unwearied attention to the distresses of the numerous sick and wounded soldiers in confinement, supplying them, at a great expense, with food and raiment, constantly visiting and alleviating, by her attention, their wretched condition, and in every circumstance interesting herself in their behalf. As we have been eye-witnesses to the above, we have hereunto set our hands.

"Philadelphia, January 29th, 1778.

"JOHN HANNUM,
Chester Co. Militia.

"PERS'N FRAZER,
Lieut.-Col. 5th Penn. Regt.

"LUKE MARBURY,
Col. 4th Bat. Maryland Militia.

"W. TALIAFERRO,
Lieut.-Col. 4th Virginia Battal.

"O. TOWLES,
Major 8th Virginia Battal."

At a later period, when the tide of affairs turned, and the American Army was in possession, and British prisoners needed her aid, it was given as freely and effectually as she had before ministered to the suffering of her own party, and thus the English and American armies joined in tributes of admiration of a beneficence which was as philanthropic as it had been patriotic. Through all these labors and trials of heroic benevolence, her daughter, Elizabeth, afterward Mrs. Thomas Lieper, was her chief assistant in the hour of suffering.

It will be interesting here to quote from a letter of General Washington to Miss Bache, daughter of Benjamin Franklin, in acknowledgment of these noble services of the ladies of Philadelphia, copied from the original letter. After explaining the delay of his acknowledgment, caused by his duties at the head of the army, he says, in that quaint, courtly style for which he was distinguished :

"I pray you now to be persuaded that a score of the patriotic exertions of yourself and the ladies who have furnished so handsome and useful a gratuity for the army at so critical and severe a season, will not easily be effaced, and that the value of the donation will be greatly enhanced by a consideration of the hands by which it was made and presented.

"Amid all the distress and suffering of the army from whatever sources they have arisen, it must be a consolation to our virtuous country-women that they have never been accused of withholding their most zealous effort to support the cause we are engaged in, and encourage them who are defending them in the field. The army does not want gratitude, nor do they misplace it in this instance."

After becoming mistress of Whitby Hall, Mrs. Gray spent the remainder of her life in comparative luxury and retirement, diffusing a gracious hospitality and receiving the homage of a new generation which had come upon the stage. As she had been fortunate in her ancestors, so she was also fortunate in her descendants. Her daughter and only child, Elizabeth, the chief assistant in her long ministry, had been married to Thomas Leiper, first a young sergeant in the City Troop in the battle of Princeton, an aid to General Washington at Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth, and, after the war, the close associate of Jefferson in forming the party which looked to him as its leader. Several of her great-grandsons were in the City Troop several years ago, when it took part in the Sesqui-Centennial Celebration of Princeton University. One of her great-grandsons has written the names of her descendants on the map of the Arctic seas, amid the praises of the civilized world.*

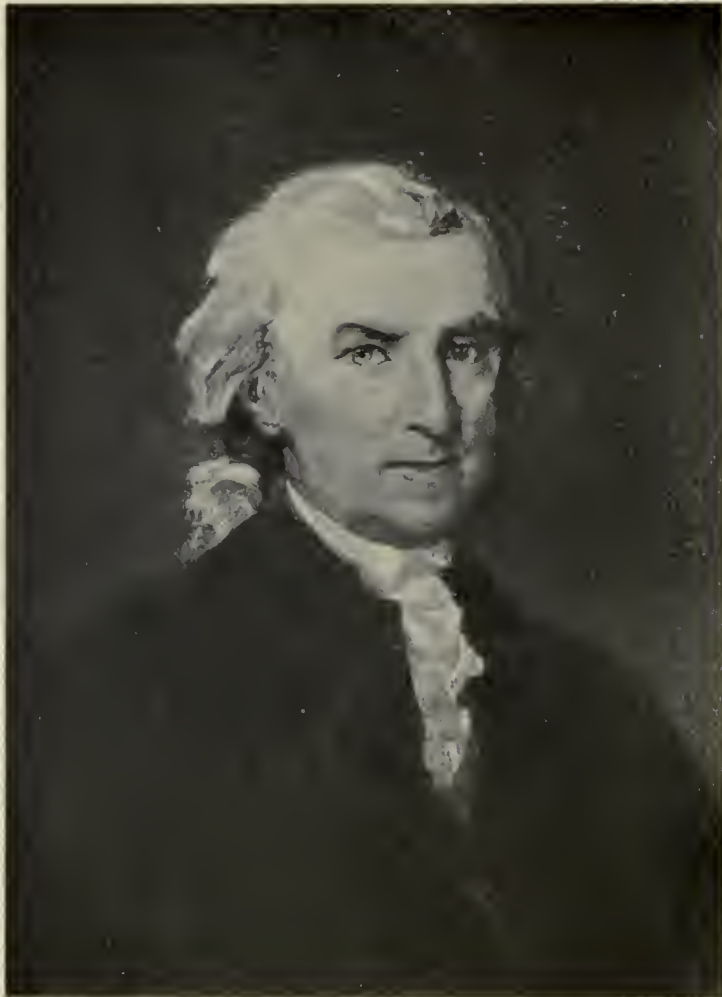
* Dr. Ellsha Kent Kane, the Arctic explorer.



GEORGE GRAY OF WHITBY HALL AND GRAY'S FERRY

With his wife, Martha (Ibbetson) Gray, he devoted himself to the cause of American freedom. He was a member of the Colonial Assembly, the Committee of Safety, the Board of War of Pennsylvania, the Constitutional Convention, and was Speaker of the House of Representatives of the State

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JOHN WATTS

A distinguished New Yorker of the Eighteenth Century, he was a member of the Assembly and of the King's Council, and was Attorney-General of the Province of New York



AN AMERICAN COUNTESS

Ann Watts, born 1744, daughter of John and Ann (de Lancey) Watts,
and wife of Archibald Kennedy, Earl of Cassilis



REMAINS OF INTRENCHMENTS ERECTED AT VALLEY FORGE BY THE CONTINENTAL ARMY
DURING THE WINTER OF 1777-78

The Evacuation of Valley Forge

Winter Encampment of American Army Where the Sufferings of the Soldiers Tested the Patriotism and Loyalty of the Coming Citizens of the Republic Washington's Correspondence in 1777-1778, One of the Most Critical Periods in Our Struggle for Independence

BY

LILLIAN CRONISE LUTES



NE hundred and thirty four-years ago, on June 19, 1778, the American Army marched out of its winter quarters on the hills of Valley Forge.

Throughout the winter of 1777-78, when our army, sick, starving, and destitute, lay almost helpless in its bleak hillside barracks, at the mercy of the enemy, a bare twenty-four miles away, the British remained strangely blind to their opportunity. Philadelphia had cast over them, as it were, the spell of a siren. Her warm hearthstones and gay social gatherings, her beautiful women and brilliant entertainments held the hostile army in thrall. Lieutenant-General Sir William Howe, in defense of his conduct of the campaign during this period, says:

"I did not attack the entrenched position at Valley Forge, a strong point, during the severe season, although everything was prepared with that intention, judging it imprudent until the season should afford a prospect of reaping the advantages that ought to have resulted in success in that measure; but having good information in the spring that the enemy had strengthened his camp by additional works and being certain of moving him from thence when the campaign should open, I dropped all thoughts of attack."

A mid-winter attack on "the entrenched position at Valley Forge" would, doubtless, have occasioned the British army some three or four days of hardship and suffering, but, in neglecting to make such an attack upon Valley Forge, "during the severe season," Sir William Howe neglected one of the best opportunities the British ever had to strike a death blow to the infant Republic and to put a speedy termination to the war, for no season, however favorable, could have afforded so great "a prospect of reaping the advantages that ought to have resulted from success in that measure," as did the internal conditions of the American camp itself "during the severe season."

On February 12, 1778, General Varnum wrote to General Greene: "In all

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human probability the army must dissolve. Many of the troops are destitute of meat and are several days in arrears. The horses are dying for want of forage. The country in the vicinity of the camp is exhausted."

On February 16, 1778, General Washington wrote to Governor Clinton: "For some days past there has been little less than a famine in camp. A part of the army has been a week without any kind of flesh, and the rest three or four days."

In a letter to the President of Congress, Washington expressly stated what in his opinion would have been the issue, had an attack upon the camp been made:

"I do not know from what cause this alarming deficiency, or rather total failure of supplies, arises, but unless more vigorous exertions and better regulations take place in that line immediately this army must dissolve. I have done all in my power by remonstrating, by writing, by ordering the commissaries on this head from time to time, but without any good effect or obtaining more than a present scanty relief. Owing to this the march of the army has been delayed on more than one interesting occasion in the course of the present campaign, and had a body of the enemy crossed the Schuylkill this morning (as I had reason to expect from the intelligence I received at four o'clock last night), the Divisions which I had ordered to be in readiness to march and meet them could not have moved."

Hardly was this written when the news did come that the enemy had come out to Darby, and the troops were ordered under arms.

"Fighting," responded General Huntingdon, when he got the order, "will be far preferable to starving. My brigade is out of provisions nor can the Commissary obtain any meat."

On the same occasion General Varnum wrote to General Washington, saying that his division had been two days without meat and three days without bread and that the men must be supplied or they could not be commanded. It was impossible to stir and all that saved the American army from annihilation was the fact that the British party coming out to Darby were only foragers and that the main army, following in the footsteps of their ancestors, the Crusaders, lay in their fenced city, intent on mimic war and tourneys, social extravagance and *michianza*, instead of going out to battle, till their opportunities were lost.

Meanwhile, the American soldiers were not passing their time in idleness. As Sir William Howe, himself, gives testimony, "The engineers were busily engaged in strengthening the defences." The "Conway Cabal," which had long been festering in the army and exerting an evil influence on Congress, had come to a head, and under the wise treatment of the Congressional Committee, its poison had been successfully extracted from the vitals of the nation. As the result of this, the inefficient Mifflin had been replaced as Quartermaster-General in March by skillful, wise Nathaniel Greene, second only to the Commander-in-

Chief in prudent foresight and disinterested zeal. This change did much toward providing proper food and clothing for the men.

Conway, the idle, self-seeking adventurer, who had made use of his office as Inspector-General to break up discipline, foment strife, and undermine Washington as Commander-in-Chief, was supplanted by the whole-hearted and self-sacrificing Steuben, who brought to his work as Drill Master and Inspector-General the best military skill and training of Europe; who toiled from earliest dawn till midnight training, drilling, and reorganizing the army; who shared the hardships of his men, and who labored on untiringly until the war was won, asking nothing but the necessary authority to do his work and an opportunity to spend his declining years in the country he had labored to set free. In course of time, the ordinary changes of the seasons helped contribute to the betterment of conditions and to the alleviation of the soldiers' sufferings.

Nor was the beneficial activity of the Americans confined to the army at Valley Forge. Far away, in France, under the wise and tactful representations of the American Commissioners, Dean and Franklin, the independence of the American Colonies was at last recognized and the long-drawn-out negotiations for the French Alliance were successfully concluded. By neglecting to make a mid-winter attack on Valley Forge Howe had let pass the time when famine, pestilence, and the very elements themselves would have acted as his allies and sped him on to victory; by waiting until the consummation of the French Alliance he had waited until Philadelphia was no longer tenable as a British post and until, as Stedman, the famous British historian, has bitterly observed, he had forfeited all the military advantage he had gained by the hard-won battles of the preceding campaign, and the housing of the army for the winter was all the benefit the British gained from Brandywine and Germantown.

Sometime during the spring of 1778 Sir William Howe was, at his own request, recalled and his successor, Sir Henry Clinton, together with his commission as Commander-in-Chief, received peremptory orders for the immediate evacuation of Philadelphia. These orders were in consequence of the apprehension of the British ministry that the fleet, then fitting out at Toulon, was destined for the Delaware and to co-operate with Washington in an attack upon Philadelphia, and the fear that, should a French fleet blockade the British squadron in the Delaware, while Washington attacked Philadelphia upon land, Howe would share the fate of Burgoyne, who had been so signally defeated in October of the year preceding.

At Valley Forge news of the French Alliance spread the greatest joy conceivable. The material advantages resulting from the alliance were of great value in deciding the final issue of the war, but the revived hope and increased confidence which the announcement of the alliance infused into the minds of the American nation, both soldiers and statesmen, were of no less real value.

General Washington realized immediately on receiving news of the alliance that the evacuation of Philadelphia would speedily follow, and began at once his preparations to profit by the same. As word soon came that British transports were being loaded in the Delaware, there was some doubt for a time as to whether the evacuation would be made by land or sea. Washington, however, inclined to the belief that the British departure would be made through Jersey, rightly judging that the same influence which had made necessary the evacuation of Philadelphia, viz., the danger of a surprise by the French fleet under D'Estaing, would deter Sir Henry from risking the capture of so large a proportion of his army while loaded on unwieldy and ill-defended transports. Acting on this belief, he therefore dispatched Maxwell with the Jersey Brigade over the Delaware to take post at Mount Holly and, together with General Dickinson, commanding the Jersey Militia, to retard the progress of the enemy through New Jersey. They were directed to fell trees, break up bridges, and hang upon the flanks of the enemy. Meanwhile, on the seventeenth of June, he called a council of war, when the opinion of all his general officers was required on the proper course to be pursued. These all concurred in the sentiment that it would not be advisable to disturb the British while crossing the Delaware, nor to enter the works about Philadelphia until the city should be entirely evacuated. On the subject of a general or even partial action, while the enemy should be on their march through Jersey, a diversity of opinion existed. Out of seventeen general officers, only two, Wayne and Cadwalader, were decidedly in favor of attacking the enemy. Lafayette inclined to this opinion without positively adopting it. Greene was disposed for something more than the Council were willing to concur in.

On the 18th of June George Roberts, a courier, arrived post from Philadelphia, bearing the welcome intelligence that Clinton's forces were crossing the Delaware into Jersey, eighteen thousand strong, and Morgan with his six hundred chosen riflemen, Scott, and Cadwalader were at once rushed in pursuit. Already, on May 30th, in anticipation of this move, the Commander-in-Chief had issued the following order to Major-General Charles Lee, which is taken from the Lee papers, New York Historical Society, Vol. 2, p. 406:

"Headquarters, 30th May, 1778.

"Sir:—Poor's, Varnum's, and Huntingdon's brigades are to march in one division under your command to North River. The Quartermaster-General will give you the route, encampment, and halting places, to which you will conform as strictly as possible, to prevent interfering with other troops, and that I may know your situation every day. Leave as few sick and lame on the road as possible. Such as are absolutely incapable of marching with you are to be committed to the care of proper officers, with directions to follow as fast as their condition will allow.



GRAVE OF AN UNKNOWN REVOLUTIONARY SOLDIER AT VALLEY FORGE



A PATRIOTIC MEMORIAL AT VALLEY FORGE

THE EVACUATION OF VALLEY FORGE

"Be strict in your discipline, suffer no rambling, keep men in their ranks and officers with their divisions, avoid pressing horses as much as possible, and punish severely every officer and soldier who shall presume to press without authority. Prohibit the burning of fence. In a word, you are to protect the persons and property of the inhabitants from every kind of insult and abuse.

"Begin your march at four o'clock in the morning at the latest, that it may be over before the heat of the day, and that the soldiers may have time to cook, refresh, and prepare for the following day. I am, etc.,

"Go. WASHINGTON."

This order, held in abeyance pending the actual evacuation of the city, was now amended by the following postscripts:

"P. S., June 18.—The foregoing instructions may serve you for general directions, but circumstances have varied since they were written. You are to halt on the first strong ground after passing the Delaware at Coryell's ferry 'till further orders, unless you should receive authentic intelligence that the enemy have proceeded by a direct route to South Amboy or still lower. In this case you will continue your march to the North River, agreeably to former orders, and by the route already given you. If my memory does not deceive me, there is an advantageous spot of ground at the ferry, to the right of the road leading from the water.

"The detachment under Col. Jackson to move and take possession of Philadelphia, and to prevent plundering and abuse of persons. Van Scoick's regiment to replace the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment in the Pennsylvania Brigade. The Second State Regiment of Virginia to replace the Thirteenth Regiment in Scott's Brigade. Park of artillery to the several divisions equally, and march with them.

"The First and Second Divisions to move the morning after intelligence is received of the enemy's evacuation of the city.

"The Third and Fourth Divisions, the morning after these, and the Fifth Division the morning succeeding; every day's march to be given at four o'clock a. m. at furthest. Go. WASHINGTON."

"The disposition for the baggage of the army to be as follows: The Commander-in-Chief's baggage is to march in the front of the column of wagons. The Adjutant-General's, Paymaster-General's, Engineer's Muster Master, Auditor of Accounts, the baggage of the Marquis de Lafayette and De Kalb's Division, the baggage of Lord Stirling's Division, and then the wagons of the Quartermaster-General's department, Flying Hospital, and lastly the Commissary and Foragemaster-General's wagons. The whole baggage to fall in rear of the column of troops.

* Old name for Lambertville, New Jersey.

"There will be a party of artificers to go in front and rear of whole to mend bridges and repair broken carriages, which will take their orders from Qa.-M. Gen'l. Go. WASHINGTON."

"Order of march and route of the army from Camp Valley Forge to Newburg on the North River, opposite Fishkill :

"Poor, Varnum, Huntingdon,	}	1st, Lee. Coryell's.
"1st Penna., 2d ditto, Late Conway's,	}	2d, Mifflin. Sherard.
"Woodford, Scott, No. Carolina,	}	3rd, Marquis. Coryell's.
"Glover, Patterson, Learned,	}	4th, De Kalb. Easton.
"Weedon, Muhlenberg, 1st Maryland, 2d Maryland,	}	5th, Sterling. Coryell's.

"NOTE.—The Light Horse is to march in front and upon the right flank in the day, and encamp in the rear of the troops at night.

"The new guards will form the advance guard of the army, and the old guards the rear guard. Each regiment will send out a flank guard on the right flank in the proportion of a sergeant and twelve men to every two hundred men."

Like all long-expected events, beneficial or otherwise, the final moment of departure came suddenly upon them and the army left their camp at Valley Forge with such haste that half-baked bread was left behind in the ovens.

On the 19th of June, 1778, in pursuance of general orders, the entire army marched out and the hills of Valley Forge echoed for the last time to the tread of military footsteps. In the midst of all the hurry, the responsibility, and the anxiety for future events, what a flood of thoughts and recollections must have filled the hearts and minds of that evacuating army! Few fairer sights are to be found than that presented by the hills of Valley Forge in the full blush of

THE EVACUATION OF VALLEY FORGE

springtime, and hard, indeed, it must have been to realize, as they looked back on those green hills bathed in the pink light of the June sunrise, that they were looking on the same bleak hills whose dark frown had so repelled them on their approach, six weary months before, whose brows had lowered so grimly on their sufferings, on their sick and on their dying. The long months of fearful waiting for the conquering attack of an all-powerful foe were over, and in their stead was the fierce joy of knowing that their enemies were now the fugitives, and they themselves the pursuers.

Since the battles of the preceding campaign, the army had been reorganized and the next few days were to try out the value of the winter's patient drilling. How eagerly the remnant of Wayne's troops, with the fierce hate bred in them by Paoli, must have pressed forward to the attack, is best evidenced by the deeds which they performed a few days later on the fields of Monmouth. With what pride and satisfaction must the men of Sullivan's Brigade have been filled, as they saw corps after corps, brigade after brigade, crossing over the Schuylkill on the bridge which they had labored all the winter through, in ice and cold, to build! Finally, what secret tears must have been shed by those, who, looking for the last time on the hills of Valley Forge, looked for the last time on the final resting place of some beloved brother, or some friend dearer than a brother, whose strength, failing during the months of bitter trial, had fallen asleep, never to waken again, whose bones still rest in an unknown soldier's grave on the site of the encampment.





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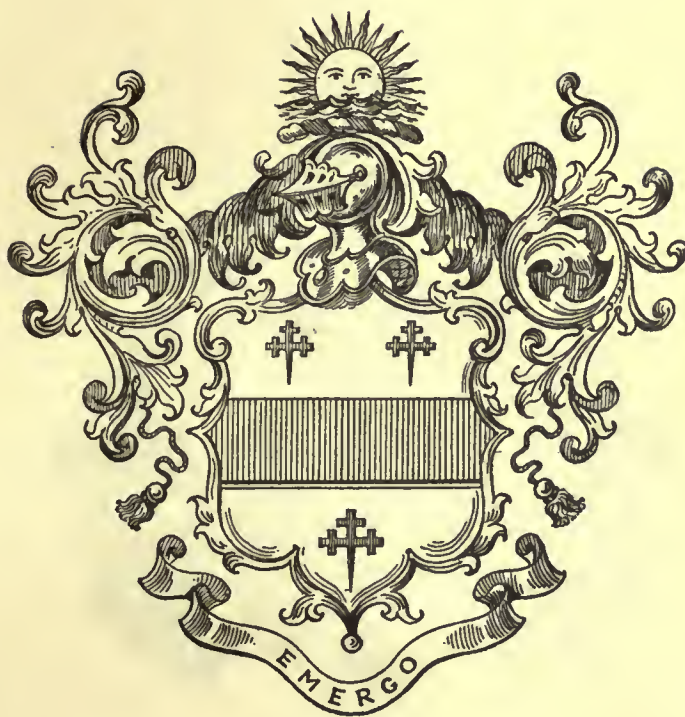
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•WEBSTER•



Beatty

ARMS OF AN ANCIENT LINE OF SCOTLAND AND
IRELAND

John Beatty, Sheriff of Ulster County, New York, in 1691, had ten children, some of whom resided in New York, others removing to Maryland. His descendants to-day are numerous in both the North and the South



Beatty

THE ARMS OF BEATTY, SHOWING QUARTERINGS



Doustrie



BUILDING WHERE THE FIRST WOMAN JURY SERVED, LARAMIE, WYOMING, 1870
 Their first service was done in the building to the left. That at the right was later used for a
 Court House, and there also women acted as jurors



LARAMIE, WYOMING, IN THE EARLY SEVENTIES
In the building marked with the single cross the first woman jury was held. In that marked with two crosses lived the first woman voter

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The First Woman Jury

BY

GRACE RAYMOND HEBARD

Librarian of the University of Wyoming, Trustee of the Wyoming State Historical Society.



WHEN King John of Britain in 1215 granted to his subjects the great sacred document called the Magna Charta, giving to one accused of crime the right to be tried "by lawful judgment of his peers," a step was taken toward civil liberty comparable and as far reaching as was the act of Governor John A. Campbell on December 10, 1869, when he signed a bill enacted by the first Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Wyoming, entitled "An Act to Grant to the Women of Wyoming Territory the Right of Suffrage, and to hold Office." On that day in December for the first time in a period of six hundred and fifty-four years the freedom granted by the English King was no longer a figure of speech for now there was a small government, the Commonwealth of the Territory of Wyoming, which derived its just powers from "the consent of the governed," not from a designated portion of those governed,

In order to describe adequately the first civil and criminal jury in the world on which women served it will be necessary to explain the condition under which women obtained the authority for such jury service. The territory within the

boundaries of the present State of Wyoming was in 1868 a part of Dakota, of Idaho and Utah and under the direct jurisdiction of those territories. That land lying east of the Rocky Mountains and of particular interest at this time was a part of Dakota. The people who had flocked to that part of the "Great American Desert," lying along the line of the newly constructed railroad,* the Union Pacific, believed that justice might be meted more speedily and with greater fairness if those who administered the laws lived in the community where the crimes were committed rather than residing several hundred miles away. Convinced that a territorial government would better the lawless condition then in existence, petitions praying for self-government were signed and forwarded to Congress. These met with favor as early as July 25, 1868, when President Johnson signed the bill creating the "Territory of Wyoming." The nominations for Territorial officers as presented by the President were not confirmed by the Senate, thus necessitating a delay for territorial organization until April 7, 1869, when the Senate approved of the list of appointments made by President Grant; among which were the names of Governor, John A. Campbell; United States Attorney, Joseph M. Carey; Chief Justice, John H. Howe; and Associate Judges, John W. Kingman and William T. Jones.

The first territorial election was held on September 2, 1869, when the people chose a Legislature that was unanimously Democratic. The complexion of the Legislature was due, no doubt, to the fact that after our national civil strife had ended the South was left in such a disorganized condition, financially and industrially, that many of her ambitious and educated young men cast their fortunes in the "Great West," where opportunities and riches seemed to await them. Cheyenne, "a city of tents," was, when the railroad reached that place in its mad rush for the Pacific Coast in 1867, the first town within the boundary of what was to become Wyoming, thus naturally alluring and holding a greater population than those towns that were on the railroad, which was pushing its way at a fever pace toward the West. This "Magic City," as it came to be called on account of its mushroom growth, was selected as the place where the first Territorial Legislature was to be held; afterwards it was designated by the Legislature of 1869 as the "territorial seat of government."

Wyoming's Organic Act, which must be regarded as her territorial Constitution, designated the number of members of each house of the Legislative Assembly, the first Legislature having nine members for the Council and twelve for the House of Representatives.† This unexpected condition confronted the people,—with a Republican Governor and a Democratic Legislature, could the executive's measures as recommended in his message be carried into effective laws; would the lawmakers have their bills vetoed? The question was a more

* Reached Cheyenne 1867.

† Organic Act. Section 4.

THE FIRST WOMAN JURY

serious one for the Governor than for the members of the Legislature, for they were strong enough to pass any bill over his veto when it came to a party measure. But anticipated difficulties were not realized. There was an earnestness of purpose among all concerned that gave to the Territory a set of laws that were foundational and have served as a basis for all of Wyoming's laws since that time, particularly in court procedure.

This first Legislature convened October 12, 1869, when Mr. William H. Bright, of South Pass City, Carter County, was elected by his constituents as President of the Council (Senate). Col. Bright, as he was called, must have possessed an unusual degree of force, persuasion and popularity, for he was elected to the position on a minority report over Poole, of Cheyenne. His success in carrying out his proposed measures would certainly justify this statement when one considers that it was he who introduced the bill which became a modern "Magna Charta."

On the morning of November 9, 1869, after adopting the reading of the Journal of the previous day, Mr. Bright called Mr. T. W. Poole to the chair and gave notice "that on Monday or some subsequent day" he would introduce "a bill for Woman's rights."* In a quiet, unpretentious way, without introduction, oratory, or previous agitation, Mr. Bright on the 27th introduced the bill that involved a question big with weighty consequences, to be known as Council Bill No. 70, as follows:

AN ACT TO GRANT TO THE WOMEN OF WYOMING TERRITORY THE RIGHT OF SUFFRAGE AND TO HOLD OFFICE

Be it enacted by the Council and House of Representatives of the Territory of Wyoming:

Sec. 1. That every woman of the age of eighteen years, residing in this Territory, may, at every election to be holden under the laws thereof, cast her vote. And her rights to the elective franchise and to hold office shall be the same under the elective laws of the territory, as those of electors.

Sec. 2. This act shall take effect and be in force from and after its passage.†

There is no record of the Council challenging the right to disturb old established voting principles or of any serious opposition having been made to the bill, written in such a simple and comprehensive style and presented in such a modest and determined manner. When the proposed innovation came up for final passage‡ the vote was Yeas six, Nays two, Absent one, a pleasing and safe majority for "Mr. President." In the House, however, the bill met with some nonsensical opposition which in the very nature of its ridiculousness threatened

* Council Journal 1869, p. 66.

† Council Bill No. 70, p. 110.

‡ December 6, 1869. House Journal, p. 207.

its passage.* Mr. Ben Sheeks seems to have been the prime mover in the attempt to defeat the passage of the bill. It is to be observed that at the next session of the Legislature, in the winter of 1871, this leader of the opposition was Speaker of the House and active in attempting to have a law enacted repealing the "Female Suffrage Act." Some member of this first session moved an amendment to the bill in the form in which it had come for the Council so as to make the bill operative "in three years or if sooner discharged"; some one moved an amendment as to the age requirement substituting the words "thirty years" in place of "eighteen," intimating that in that event no woman would vote, as none would admit to that many birthdays; another moved that the consideration of the bill be postponed until July 4, 1870, a holiday and a year when the Legislature would not be in session; again, that the word "woman" be stricken out and the words "all colored women and squaws" be substituted; that the word "ladies" be used in place of "woman." The last and only sensible amendment, to change the word "eighteen" to "twenty-one," was accepted and with this amendment the bill finally passed the Houses. Ayes six, Nays four, Absent one.

The Council agreed to the amendment by a six-to-three vote and Governor Campbell, on the evening of December 10, 1869, signed the bill, believing that a law granting to women the right to vote and to hold office in Wyoming Territory was a rational and logical sequence to the other laws that had been made during that Legislature, *i. e.*, giving to the widow the guardianship of her minor children; to woman power to acquire and possess property; and to give equal compensation to both sexes where qualifications to teach were the same.† Thus the bill became a law and appeared on the Sessions Laws of 1869 as Chapter 31—"Female Suffrage."‡ There was no special agitation, debate or forensic effort to enact this law. It was not passed as a joke. It was not enacted in jest.§ A majority of the Legislature believed in the experiment. The Governor endorsed the judgment of the lawmakers. Col. William H. Bright had come down to the Legislature from the thriving mining camp of two thousand people called South Pass City,—near that wide rift of the same name in the Rocky Mountains through which so many thousand trappers, explorers, goldseekers, and home makers had traveled and were to travel on their way to a more western country,—with his mind made up that enfranchisement of woman should commence in the infant Territory of Wyoming. He was strengthened in this belief by the fact that he came from Washington, D. C., and had a deep prejudice

* November 30, 1869. Council Journal, p. 122.

† After the Suffrage law had been in active operation for a few years Governor Campbell was asked for an expression of his opinion on the practical working of that law. He said: "Excellent. It has worked well. I approved the bill giving suffrage to women, without looking favorably upon it, owing to my early prejudices, but I have seen no reason to regret the step, and am rather forced by the results to become an advocate of it."

‡ Session Laws, 1869, p. 371.

§ Journal and Debates of Wyoming Constitutional Convention, p. 352. Address of Hon. M. C. Brown, President of the Convention.



NATHANIEL K. BOSWELL, WHO, AS SHERIFF, SELECTED AND SUMMONED THE FIRST GRAND AND PETIT JURIES ON WHICH WOMEN SERVED, AND APPOINTED THE FIRST WOMAN BAILIFF, AT LARAMIE, WYOMING, MARCH, 1870



THE HONORABLE JOHN H. HOWE, FIRST CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE TERRITORY OF WYOMING WHO RULED THAT WOMEN WERE ELIGIBLE TO JURY SERVICE
This picture is reproduced through the courtesy of Governor Carey



COLONEL STEPHEN W. DOWNEY, THE
PROSECUTING ATTORNEY IN THE TRIAL
AT WHICH THE FIRST WOMAN JURY
SERVED

Picture reproduced through the courtesy of
Mrs. Downey



THE HONORABLE MELVILLE C. BROWN,
ATTORNEY FOR THE DEFENSE IN THE
TRIAL



THE HONORABLE WILLIAM W. CORLETT,
WHO ASSISTED IN THE DEFENSE

THE FIRST WOMAN JURY

against the voting power recently granted the negro. He believed that mothers and wives were capable of exercising full rights of citizens better than negroes and the class of ignorant men who outnumbered the intelligent voters in any new and undeveloped Western country. But, most of all, he was helped in his convictions and fortified for the battle he expected to fight by the opinions of his wife and the acquaintance of one of his townspeople, Mrs. Esther Morris, who has since earned the unchallenged right to the title of "The Mother of Woman Suffrage." Mrs. Morris, at that time just beyond the meridian of life, vigorous in mind and body, had immigrated to Wyoming before territorial days, when the Western movement was at its height and settled in South Pass City, a mining camp of more than passing historic interest. In the frontier towns, far from any railroad, surrounded by numerous bands of Indians, Mrs. Morris served for a term as Justice of the Peace, the first woman to serve in that capacity in the world, having been appointed to the office by acting Governor Edward M. Lee. Judge Morris, for by this name she came to be known, with a clear, logical and judicial mind administered justice with such a vigorous and impartial hand that she won the respect and admiration of her community, which at that time was anything but peaceful in its inclinations. The *South Pass News* for December 6, 1870, says: "Mrs. Justice Esther Morris retires from her judicial duties today. She has filled the position with great credit to herself and secured the good opinion of all with whom she transacted any official business."

Despatches and cables heralded the news of universal suffrage for Wyoming Territory. The big little Territory at once "was on the map," and literature about that commonwealth was immediately demanded. The sale of Campbell's "Gertrude of Wyoming" was unprecedented—but, alas! though the error was justifiable, Gertrude was of the plains of Wyoming, Pennsylvania, not of the West, and the Campbell was a poet,* not an executive over an unknown land somewhere lost in the Western distance of the Overland Trail, which Webster mistakenly said "was fit only for prairie dogs and Indians." If, as some of the members of the Legislature affirmed, the suffrage bill was passed to advertise Wyoming, the work was not in vain for the existence of Wyoming Territory became generally known both at home and abroad through her "first woman suffrage enactment." Even the motto upon the territorial seal *seemed* to emphasize the "rights of Women," *Cedant Arma Togae*, "Let arms yield to the Gown!"

In March of the year 1870, following immediately after the passage of the suffrage bill, the names of women were placed on the panel for both the Grand suffrage was to be made.† Laramie was just west of Cheyenne on the line of and Petit Juries, particularly in Laramie City, where a rigid test of the extent of the new railroad, a park situated in the center of the Laramie Plains, surrounded by two spurs of the Rocky Mountains: on the east by the Black Hills and on

*Thomas Campbell, the British poet. Poem written in 1809.

† See Note 1, at end of article.

the west by the Medicine Bow range. The Union Pacific Railroad on the 10th of May, 1868, had reached its western point of expansion at this shed, shanty, shack, and tent city, bringing with it as great a variety of people as it did articles of commerce. At this period in the history of Wyoming, Laramie City was not a peaceful, law-abiding community, as she afterwards became when she was known as "The Athens of Wyoming" on account of her public schools and State University. When the Union Pacific Railroad had stretched as far west as Laramie, it found many thieves, highwaymen, robbers and garroters who made up a large part of the population of a typical western town composed of dance halls, saloons and houses of vice. But the railroad, in place of bettering the town of some two thousand inhabitants, added to its iniquity by bringing additional holdups, cut-throats, and prostitutes, with all of their necessary companions. Efforts were made to have an organized government attempt to regulate, if not to eradicate, the most flagrant of these acts of violence and open vice. The town within three months more than doubled its population, one thousand men of which were ready to face danger and attempt the task of controlling four thousand who knew no law or order. On the 12th of May, 1868, while a part of Dakota Territory, a Mayor and other city officials were elected, but before a month had passed the Mayor had resigned and also some of the other officials, owing to the existing conditions and lack of substantial backing which made it impossible and impracticable to organize a strong and efficient government. Some of those who had been elected to office and who did not resign belonged to that class of criminals that the proposed organization had hoped to prosecute. Thus, what was at best a weak government soon degenerated into no government at all, and robbing and garroting were daily occurrences and murder was not infrequent. When the railroad pushed on still farther west it took with it many of the lawless population, but there were many who found a harvest abundant to tarry longer on this fringe of civilization. The usual juries could not, or would not, convict those who were captured red handed in their crimes. The better element of the community, alarmed at the character of the mass of depraved humanity and desperate characters that had flocked to Laramie in actual hordes, determined to put down the anarchy that ran riot, to punish the murderers and robbers and protect the lives and property of innocent and law-abiding citizens.

This condition of affairs rather forced the issue of having women serve on the jury. At that time names of the jurors were not drawn, but the Sheriff of the county summoned in person the members for both juries. When the Grand Jury was empanelled, in March, 1870, for the regular term of court of the First Judicial District of Wyoming, it brought in indictments to be tried in the first court to be held under the jurisdiction of Wyoming Territory to be presided

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over by Hon. John H. Howe, with N. K. Boswell as Sheriff and L. D. Pease as Deputy Clerk. Among other names for this Grand Jury appeared those of several women, Miss Eliza Stewart (a school teacher), Mrs. Amelia Hatcher (a widow), Mrs. G. F. Hilton (wife of a physician), Mrs. Mary Mackel (wife of one of the clerks at Fort Sanders), Mrs. Agnes Baker (wife of a merchant), and Mrs. Sarah W. Pease (wife of the Deputy Clerk of the court),* the first women to be summoned to serve on a common law jury anywhere recorded in any part of the world. When this jury had been empanelled, sworn and charged, the excitement in Laramie was intense and the material facts, together with the Judge's charge, were telegraphed all over the world by the Associated Press reporters, who watched every step of the novel scene with intense interest. The women, who had been drawn on the regular panel for that spring term of court, had not taken their summons as a serious matter, for there seemed to have been a mutual understanding that each one, when the term came, would beg to be excused.

Sheriff Boswell served the notice for Grand Jury service upon Miss Eliza Stewart, who was the first school teacher in Laramie, saying to her at that time, "Miss Stewart, you have the honor of being the first woman ever called upon to serve on a court jury." The men also were summoned to this Grand Jury, over which Frederick Laycock acted as foreman. "This court was duly opened by the Sheriff, who made a return of the venire to him issued: of the persons summoned by him as grand jurors," and thus appears for the first time on the pages of any court or history the names of women to act as grand jurors.

In a dignified and clear voice for the first time in criminal court history the following words were spoken, ringing in the ears of the assembly which packed the temporary court house: "Ladies and Gentlemen of the Grand Jury."† Among other things that Justice Howe told the women of the jury was that the eyes of the world were upon them as pioneers serving in a movement that was to test the power of being able to protect and defend themselves from the evils of which women were victims. He further assured them that there was no impropriety of women serving as jurors and that he would see that they received the fullest protection of his court; that "you shall not be driven by the sneers, jeers and insults of a laughing crowd from the temple of justice, as your sisters have from some of the medical colleges of the land. The strong hand of the law shall protect you"; "that it will be a sorry day for any man who shall so far forget the courtesies due and paid by every American gentleman to every American lady as to even by word or act endeavor to deter you from the exercise of those rights with which the law has invested you."

* Minute Document Albany Co., Wyoming, p. 139.

† At a term of court held in Cheyenne, held after this date, there were eleven men and one woman serving on a jury. The justice experienced difficulty in adopting a proper nomenclature to address his jury. "Ladies and Gentlemen" was not accurate, "Lady and Gentlemen" sounded lonesome. A compromise was used in the single term, "Jurors."

At this period in the proceeding of the court Stephen W. Downey, the Prosecuting Attorney for the county, arose and moved to quash the panel on the ground that the said panel was not composed of "Male citizens" and that only such were qualified by law to serve as jurors. "The court, having heard the argument of counsel therein and having been sufficiently advised in the premises, overrules said motion. Associate Justice J. W. Kingman concurring."*

The written opinion of Chief Justice Howe, which had been given to Attorney Downey previously on March 3, 1870, makes most interesting reading, as well as furnished a document of more than momentary importance. In this opinion the Justice stated that the ladies who have been summoned on the juries were eligible to the position and that the court would see that they would be received, protected and treated with all due respect and courtesy, and that the court would secure to them all that deference and security from insult which was accorded "to women in any of the walks of life where true and good women were accustomed to move."

The first mixed Grand Jury was in session for three weeks, during which time bills were brought for consideration for several murder cases, cattle and horse stealing and illegal branding, all of the bills strangely commencing, "We, good and lawful male and female jurors, on oath do say——"

Owing to the class of men who had control of affairs, to the public sentiment that did not demand a punishment for violation of laws, and to the fact that it had seemed impossible in former cases to obtain a jury that would convict out-and-out criminals who had been tried in the courts, women were called to serve on the jury at this time. Judge Howe believed if woman could be persuaded to serve on the jury she would be unhampered by these outside conditions and would fearlessly act as judgment and conscience dictated. When the women were appealed to on these grounds for jury service they responded as men to a battle call, not that it was specially to be desired, but, a duty that should not be easily shirked. The fact that women were serving on the Grand Jury and could and would serve on a Petit Jury was telegraphed to all parts of the country and not only was there much local interest awakened over the action, but a real sensation was created throughout all of our nation and civilized countries abroad. Within a day King William of Prussia sent a congratulatory cable to President Grant upon this evidence of progress, enlightenment and civil liberty in America. It was not long until newspaper men flocked into Laramie and special artists for illustrated newspapers came with their pencils and crayons, for this all happened long before the day of the kodak and conveniently portable camera. Unfortunately the women would not sit in a body for their pictures and posterity cannot possess a vision of that "first woman jury." The women, who were obliged to be in and out of court each day carrying bills, were a target for

* Albany County Court Journal, Case 26.

Cheyenne March 3d 1878

S. M. Downey Esq
My dear Sir

I have your favor of yesterday & have carefully considered the question of the Eligibility of women who are "citizens", to serve on Juries. Mr Justice Knigman has also considered the question & we concur in the opinion that such women are eligible. My reasons ^{for this opinion} will be given at length if occasion requires.

I will thank you to make it known to those ladies who have been summoned on the Juries that they will be received, protected & treated with

all the respect & courtesy due, and ever
paid by true American gentlemen to
true American Ladies, and that the
Court by all the power of the Govern-
ment will secure to them all that
deference, security from insult, or
anything which ought to offend the
most refined address, which is
accorded to women in any of the
walks of life in which the good
& true women of our Country have
heretofore been accustomed to move.

Thus, whatever may have been,
or may now be thought of the policy
of admitting women to the right of
suffrage & to hold office, they will
have a fair opportunity at least,
in my Court, to demonstrate their
ability in this new field, & the

policy or impolicy of their occupy-
ing it.

Of their right to try it,
I have no doubt. I hope they
will succeed & the Court will
certainly aid them in all lawful
& proper ways.

Very Respectfully
Yours

J. H. Howe

Chief Justice &c

REPRODUCTION OF JUDGE HOWE'S RULING (THIRD PAGE)



BUILDING AT CHEYENNE, WYOMING,
WHERE THE FIRST TERRITORIAL COUN-
CIL OF THE LEGISLATURE MET, AND
WHERE WAS INTRODUCED THE BILL
WHICH GAVE WOMEN THE RIGHT OF
SUFFRAGE

From a sketch made by Governor Carey



MRS. LOUISA ANN (GARDNER) SWAIN, THE FIRST WOMAN VOTER IN WYOMING AND THE FIRST WOMAN IN THE WORLD TO VOTE ON POLITICAL EQUALITY WITH MEN. She was born at Norfolk, Virginia, in 1801. This portrait is reproduced through the courtesy of her son, Mr. A. P. Swain

MRS. STEPHEN BOYD (NÉE ELIZA STEWART), THE FIRST WOMAN IN THE WORLD TO BE SUMMONED FOR JURY SERVICE

Though not serving on the first woman jury, she acted as juror during the same term of Court. She was the first teacher in Laramie, 1868. Her picture is reproduced through the courtesy of Mr. Stephen Boyd



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the artists who, not being able to take a photograph of the women because they were heavily veiled, produced them in caricature and forwarded them to the Eastern papers. These, of course, were hideous things and tempted the women to swerve from their determination, but they remained steadfast in their original purpose. Some of these caricatures represented the women holding their babies in their laps while doing jury service and couplets of all sorts were invented, of which the following is characteristic:

“Baby, baby, don’t get in a fury;
Your mamma’s gone to sit on the jury.”

The Grand Jury insisted that all laws should be enforced that related to the suppression of gambling, the regulation of saloons and the observance of Sunday. So persistent were they in the rigid enforcement of these special laws that the next Legislature, with zeal worthy of a better cause, lost no time in repealing the law (*i. e.*, Sunday closing of saloons).

When the Grand Jury finished its labors and appeared in the crude court to be discharged, much to its surprise and delight Judge Howe took special pains to compliment highly the service rendered during this first term of territorial court. To the women, particularly, he directed his praise, making them believe they “would make just as good jurors as men, if not a great deal better.”*

Among other cases this Grand Jury had brought in an indictment for murder in the first degree against Andrew W. Howie for the killing of John Hocter.

The court record tells us that on April 7, 1870, “comes N. K. Boswell, Sheriff,† and makes return of the venire to him issued of the following named persons by him summoned as petit jurors, . . . Retta Burnham, Nellie Hazen, Mary Wilcox, Mary L. Flynn, Mrs. I. M. Hartsough, Lizzie A. Spooner, and Jennie Iverson [also a number of men]. Of these petit jurors, three, Mary Flynn, Lizzie Spooner, and Jennie Iverson, asking to be excused, had other jurors summoned in their places.” This first mixed petit jury to try the Howie case contained six men and the following named women: Mrs. Retta J. Burnham (wife of a contractor), Miss Nellie Hazen (a teacher), Miss Lizzie A. Spooner (a hotel keeper’s sister), Mrs. Mary Wilcox (wife of a merchant), Mrs. J. H. Hayford (wife of the editor of the *Daily Sentinel*), and Mrs. I. N. Hartsough (wife of the Methodist minister).

When women were called to serve on the Grand or Petit Jury, Sheriff Boswell always immediately appointed a woman bailiff. Mrs. Martha Boies‡ carries the honor of being the first woman bailiff in the territory, having served afterward on the Grand and Petit Juries.

* Mrs. Sarah W. Pease, one of the jurors.

† Minute Document, p. 141.

‡ Now Mrs. Martha Symons-Boles-Atkinson.

A passing word as to Sheriff Nathaniel K. Boswell, whose deeds of daring and bravery during pioneer Wyoming, and his nine years of service as Sheriff, fourteen years as deputy United States Marshal and many years as Stock Detective from Mexico to Canada have given him a reputation for being the most fearless and just of criminal officers in the West and of whom may it be said that no officer has ever arrested as many suspects. Mr. Boswell was the first Sheriff of the County of Albany, in which the first woman jury was held. This county, at that time, was over four hundred miles long and stretched from the northern boundary of Colorado to the southern limits of Montana. The apprenticeship which Mr. Boswell served in Colorado as an Indian and Government scout was a capital preparation for the frontier criminal work he carried on in Wyoming. Arrow scars on his wrist and face bear silent and lasting testimony to the danger of the occupation which he followed in those days, even before there was any Denver. When Laramie* was all tents and when those who were supposed to govern the town were murderers, robbers, and garroters, the better class of citizens attempted to obtain order through the Vigilance Committee. Mr. Boswell was active in attempting to establish at least some degree of order, even before he became an officer of the law. These were days of chaotic lawlessness until the conditions became so unbearable that one night three men were taken by the Vigilance Committee and hanged from the poles of an unfinished log house, while forty-four other "undesirable citizens" were told to leave before daylight. One of these men, returning the next day, was promptly hanged, which convinced other outlaws that order would be established. Those who did not disappear at least had an outward observance of some of the laws.

Twenty-five cases had appeared on the Albany County docket when it was under the jurisdiction of Dakota. Case 26 was the first one in that county of Wyoming Territory, reading:

"Territory of Wyoming vs. Andrew W. Howie. Prosecuting Attorney, S. W. Downey; attorneys of defense, W. W. Corlett and M. C. Brown. Action, murder. Verdict of guilty of manslaughter in the first degree. Prisoner sentenced to imprisonment in the Detroit House of Correction for ten years at hard labor." It was agreed among the Judges and attorneys in this case that six women and six men would be chosen for the Petit Jury and that great care should be taken in the selection of these women who would be called to do jury service.

A man by the name of John Hocter had been killed one night in the bar-room of the Shamrock Hotel, owned and managed by Patrick Doran, one of Laramie's "old-timers," who came to the locality before there was any town. Andrew Howie, a law-abiding individual, blue-eyed, tall and handsome, had gone

* The original charter was to Laramie City. This has since been changed to Laramie.

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upstairs to bed, when, hearing a noise below that indicated trouble, he stole downstairs in a half-dazed way. Entering the bar-room, he found a pistol pointed at him with these words behind it: "I am going to shoot you." Two shots were fired simultaneously, Hocter dropping dead. No one knew who did the shooting, as the room was poorly lighted, but some dozen or more men who were in the room were arrested by Sheriff Boswell and taken to the military guardhouse of Fort Sanders, situated about two miles south of Laramie. The next day, after having asked if the man who did the killing should confess could he be protected from mob violence, Howie confessed to the Sheriff and to his attorney, Melville C. Brown, that he had done the killing.

After the evidence at the jury trial was all in and every one who had been in the bar-room at the time of the fatal act had been examined the case was turned over to the mixed jury. As no decision was reached before night, the jury was taken to the Union Pacific Hotel, where two rooms were engaged. Before the door of each a bailiff stood guard all night—one of them a woman, one a man.

Bailiff Boies (Mrs. Atkinson), now living and in full possession of her mental faculties, recites most thrilling experiences of those early days and is enthusiastic in her estimate of the "perfectly splendid" men with whom she came in contact during her official duties. Mrs. Boies came to Laramie just before the advent of the railroad, thus tasting and experiencing all phases of frontier life, even to that of having two of her boarders meet their death when the Vigilance Committee disposed of three outlaws. If it be true that one "entertains angels unawares," in those days "men were not known by the clothes they wore." The woman bailiff speaks with pride of her ability to assist her husband in his chosen profession as undertaker, when men assistants could not be obtained even to drive the hearse during his illness.

Although a murder at that time was not considered as serious an offense as cattle stealing, for two days and two nights these women and men of the jury labored with the facts as brought out by the witnesses. Finally, a new feature of jury service was introduced when the Methodist minister's wife asked the jurors to kneel down with her in prayer while she asked the Highest Court to give them guidance in arriving at a just verdict. Immediately after the petition the first ballot was taken, the result of which was: Murder in first degree, one vote (the minister's wife); two women were for murder in the second degree, and three women voted for manslaughter; three men voted for manslaughter and three men for not guilty. Thus is recorded for the first time the first voting of a petit jury composed of women and men. Of course, at the time, the result of the first ballot was not divulged and only after almost a half century have the facts been given for publication from one who was intimately associated with the case. That she who cast her vote for murder in the first degree had justifica-

tion for her act is easily exemplified by the fact that as she sat knitting by the stove, the soft, womanly click of her needles as they flew in and out of her skillful fingers seemed to keep time with the rather unfeminine verdict she was frequently repeating: "Whoso sheddeth man's blood by man shall his blood be shed," "Whoso sheddeth man's blood by man shall his blood be shed."*

One of the attorneys who served in the case has said that, in his opinion, women are as a rule possessed of much keener perceptive faculties than men and that the women on the jury took in the fact that a man had been killed and that no excuse, no palliating circumstances should relieve the man who did the killing from the results of his act. It was thought before the jury had been selected (and it had been selected with the greatest care, for all challenges had been exercised in order to have exactly one-half of the jury of each sex), "that women were chicken-hearted and could be easily won over." It was contended that women could be easily swayed by the oratory of attorneys and that the women's sympathy would be aroused in favor of a man who was on trial for his life. The attorneys for the defense now admit that they tried to accomplish what they could in that direction. They succeeded in touching the women's sympathies to such an extent that copious tears were shed, but beyond that the attorney stormed at the gate in vain—the women all voted for conviction. It was claimed that women, without the experience had by men, in their dealing with affairs of life, knowing nothing of the dangers besetting men sometimes and the conditions under which men are sometimes compelled to slay in defense of their own lives, would not be able to mete out justice. To the mind of some attorneys, the case at hand seemed to illustrate the accusation.

The jury, after struggling with the testimony and balloting again and again, finally reached a verdict. The bailiff claims the jury agreed more promptly than it might otherwise have done because Saturday night had arrived and the minister's wife had Sabbath duties quite equal to those of a jury. With an eagle's quill fashioned into a pen the first woman's jury signed its verdict of "manslaughter." Judge Howe sentenced Howie to the Detroit House of Correction for a term of ten years at hard labor, but some two years afterward the first man to be convicted by a woman jury was pardoned and all trace of him seemed to have been forever lost.

The verdict was a popular one, meeting with general approval, and one that the people were convinced could not have been obtained with the usual kind of jury when one considered the times and the sentiment against conviction for murder. Had it been a case of stealing a horse there would not have been any question of the ultimate outcome. Lawbreakers and criminals generally became filled with dismay at the turn of jury work and questioned their security. Men who had brought their "wives" to that frontier left the country until such times

* Genesis IX, 6.

Motion to quash indictment: Overruled.
Demurrer to indictment overruled: Deft with his
consent arraigned indictment read to him where-
upon Deft pleaded not guilty to the same. Jury impan-
nelled & sworn. Cause tried. Jury charged & retired in
charge of sworn officers. Verdict of guilty of man-
slaughter in the first degree. Motion by Deft
to set aside the verdict & grant a new trial, overruled.
Deft excepts. Prisoner sentenced to imprisonment in
the Detroit House of Correction for 10 years at hard labor.

PHOTOGRAPHIC REPRODUCTION OF PART OF THE RECORD OF "CASE 26," ALBANY
COUNTY, WYOMING, COURT JOURNAL, ON WHICH WOMEN FIRST DID
JURY SERVICE, MARCH, 1870
Exhibited in The Journal of American History through the courtesy of Mr. F. J. Ihmsen, Clerk of
the Court

1219



MRS. SARAH W. PEASE, WHO SERVED ON
THE FIRST WOMAN GRAND JURY
Picture reproduced through the courtesy of
Mrs. G. A. Hertzog



MRS. MARTHA SYMONS-BOIES-ATKINSON,
THE FIRST WOMAN BAILIFF
Mrs. Atkinson afterward served on both Grand
and Petit Juries



MRS. ESTHER MORRIS, THE FIRST WOMAN
JUSTICE OF THE PEACE

Her influence was effectual in the introduction
of the woman suffrage bill in the Wyoming
Legislature in 1869



MRS. I. N. HARTSOUGH, WHO SERVED ON
THE FIRST WOMAN PETIT JURY

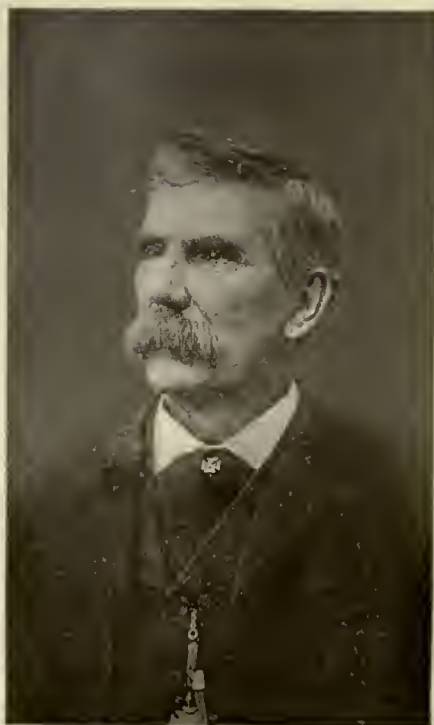
Reproduction made through the courtesy of
Mrs. Martha Atkinson



THE HONORABLE JOHN A. CAMPBELL,
FIRST GOVERNOR OF THE TERRITORY OF
WYOMING

Governor Campbell signed the bill making woman suffrage legal in Wyoming, December 10, 1869, and vetoed the bill repealing the suffrage law in 1871. This picture is reproduced through the courtesy of Governor Carey

COLONEL WILLIAM H. BRIGHT
In 1869 he introduced the woman suffrage bill
in the first Legislature of Wyoming Territory



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as a marriage license might be issued or until fearless woman no longer did jury service.

This term of court was a long and arduous one, during which time many civil and criminal cases were tried by a mixed jury and at the end of the term of court the unanimous verdict of the people was that law had been enforced, crime punished, property protected and "equal, impartial, exact justice meted out to all in every instance."

As a result of woman jurors and the suffrage right, Wyoming at this time was visited by many celebrated persons. Among those who came to Laramie were Susan B. Anthony, Phoebe Couzens, Grace Greenwood, Ann Eliza Young, and Dr. Mary Walker.

There were three terms of court at which women served as jurors, though not confined to the city of Laramie, always to the satisfaction of the public. Being in poor health, Justice Howe resigned from the bench, presiding for the last time in court September 20, 1871. A Judge from the South was appointed to take his place as Chief Justice. The new Judge was opposed to woman suffrage and prohibited the selection of women as jurors, Associate Justice W. S. Jones concurring with him. Another factor contributing to the discontinuing of women doing jury service was the fact that in an important murder trial held in Cheyenne two women served on a jury, one of whom, the wife of the first Mayor* of that city, was taken seriously ill during the long drawn out and tedious case, necessitating the waiting of the court until such time as she was able again to sit on the case. This delay created a prejudice among some of the lawyers in regard to women juries and they used their influence to have the court decide against further service by mixed juries. The practice of a mixed jury has never been resumed in Wyoming.

When the eligibility of woman to serve on a jury at the first term of court under territorial organization came up for discussion, Judge Howe ruled, among other things—that inasmuch as the law providing for the selection of jurors,—“all male citizens”†—was enacted three days *before* the one granting to woman the right to vote and hold office there was nothing inconsistent with the two laws and that the right of suffrage and to hold office were inalienable from jury service. The attorney‡ who assisted in the defense threatened to take up the case on appeal to the Territorial Supreme Court if women were allowed to do jury service.

“Small comfort you will obtain from that,” responded Judge Howe, “for a majority of the Supreme Court—Judge Kingman and myself—will sustain the ruling of the District Court, inasmuch as the Judges of the two courts are identical.”

* Hon. H. M. Hook.

† Session Laws of Wyoming, 1869, ch. 11.

‡ Hon. W. W. Corlett.

"Well, in that case, your Honor," retorted the attorney, "as Judges do not resign, there is a possibility of their dying, and all one can do is to wait."

But the waiting was not for long, as illness forced Judge Howe to resign, when he left the Territory to accept elsewhere another appointive position.

From the time of the retirement of Judge Howe from the bench the question of women serving on the jury has never been presented, with the single exception of a trial for an alleged cattle thief who appealed his case to the Wyoming Supreme Court* on the ground that the exclusion of women from the jury deprived him of the rights, privileges and immunities accorded to him by the Fourteenth Amendment of the United States Constitution.

The Justices of the Supreme Court were not unanimous in their unwritten conclusion, two opining that under no circumstances could women serve on the jury, one dissenting. However, when the written opinion was handed down† the question was not definitely decided, inasmuch as the court stated that it had no doubt that woman was not eligible as juror under the territorial statutes, as the right to vote and hold office did not include the right to serve as a juror. "That the State Constitution,‡ where appears "both male and female citizens of this State shall equally enjoy all civil, political and religious rights and privileges," leaves an unsettled point—"Is jury service a right or privilege?" The opinion continues . . . "We do not feel justified in deciding a question of such grave importance on the spur of the moment and without a full argument." Nor did they. The court, however, took refuge behind a former ruling§ and dodged the issue so far as the eligibility of women to serve on a jury was concerned. To quote freely, the court ruled that the idea of a jury is that a body of men of whom it is composed are the *peers* (derived from the Magna Charta) or equals of the person whose rights it is selected to judge, and that those of the jury must be of the same legal status in society as that which is held by the person on trial. That the complaint was based on the fact that the *opposite* sex were excluded from determining the plaintiff's rights, because they, the women, were excluded from enjoying a right granted *them*, and not because any one of his own sex was denied the right. That *if* women have this right, or "to assist in the administration of justice," then no one but a woman—one of the class or sex whose rights have been invaded—could assert that right. That a woman must be on trial to demand the right of her sex for jury service. That "mere man" can never raise the question. That without passing upon the constitutionality of an act giving women this duty, the court finally decided that a man cannot claim that his rights, civil or political, have been infringed upon or annulled

* June 20, 1892.

† Wyoming Reports, Vol. III, pp. 723-730, written by Hon. H. V. S. Groesbeck, the dissenting justice.

‡ Wyoming Constitution, Sec. 1, Article 6.

§ Strauder vs. West Virginia, 100 U. S., §10.

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by excluding the other sex from the jury. That the invading and infringing of rights by limiting jury service to "males" can only be tested in a court when that sex that is excluded brings the complaint.

This case was decided on June 20, 1892, since which time no further discussion has been made relative to jury service. Undoubtedly cases will arise in the future when women under trial will appeal their cases on error of jury service and the real question will have to be decided on its merits and not on a subterfuge, or argument, to evade the issue.

One last word as to any attempt by the Legislature to repeal historic Chapter XXXI. Never, but once, has any territorial or State Legislature attempted to deprive women of the right of suffrage. This was by the second Legislative Assembly in 1871, two years after the original bill granting women suffrage had passed. The first Legislature, be it remembered, was totally Democratic, both houses. When the second session convened the upper and lower houses each had a scattering vote of Republicans. The original bill of 1869 had been introduced in the Council. The bill to repeal "Chapter XXXI" came from the House of Representatives, being introduced by Mr. Castle on November 16, 1871, and was known as House Bill Number Four.* It was evident from the moment it was introduced, nine days after the Legislature convened, that there was a determined effort on the part of the Democrats to repeal the law which had given the women the right to vote, even though this privilege had come through the votes of a solid Democratic body. The day after the bill was introduced it passed the House by the following vote—Ayes nine, Noes three, absent one.†

The three votes against the amendment were all Republican, the nine for it being Democratic. Ben Sheeks was Speaker of the House and was as active in his attempt to have the repeal bill become a law as he was to defeat the original bill that passed the first Legislature. As before stated, he was the only member in either house who was returned to this second Legislature.

The bill was sent to the Council and read there for the first time on November 20, 1871.‡ Here it also met with opposition only from the Republican members and on November 27 it passed that house by a vote of Ayes five, all Democratic, Nays four, all Republicans. The three attorneys who figured in the first woman jury case all were in this second Legislature and voted against House Bill Number Four, M. C. Brown, in the House, and S. W. Downey and W. W. Corlett, in the Council. When the bill was sent to the Governor, John A. Campbell, he vetoed it with a lengthy message, basing his action on rational grounds.§ First, in his message to the Legislature at the opening session, the Governor

* House Journal 1871, p. 47.

† House Journal 1871, p. 50.

‡ Council Journal, p. 42.

§ House Journal, pp. 112-118.

embraced the opportunity to mention the success of women enfranchisement. "It is simple justice to say that the women entering for the first time in the history of the country, upon these new and untried duties, have conducted themselves in every respect with as much tact, shrewd judgment, and good sense as men."* Doubtful compliment? " . . . and she has a right to claim that, so long as none but good results are made manifest, the law should remain unrepealed." Thus the Legislature, easily Democratic, knew in advance what to expect if Chapter XXXI were attempted to be taken from the statute books. Second, in his veto message the Governor argued that to repeal the bill at that time would advertise to the world that women in their use of the enfranchisement had not justified the acts of the members of the previous session which granted them suffrage; that such an imputation would be false and untenable; that the essential qualification of suffrage was not the ability to perform military service, for all citizens over fifty years of age were exempt from carrying arms, as well as the feeble, yet, to deprive them of franchise would be a distinct wrong; that women would be instrumental in clearing the "dirty pool of politics"; that the laws permitting women to acquire and possess property should also give them a voice in relation to taxation of that property; that as the widow was the guardian of her minor children she should have a part in the regulation of the public schools to be established where her children were to be educated; that the idea that the bill giving woman suffrage was passed thoughtlessly and without proper consideration was an error; that it was given to her because it perfectly conformed to all of the other laws in relation to women in the Territory's statute books; that the law declaring that no discrimination should be made in the selection or pay of teachers on account of sex,[†] carried with it the more advanced step that not only was the teacher to instruct the voters, but was herself qualified to vote.

To pass the bill over the Governor's veto required a two-thirds vote of each house. The Republicans stood firm in their faith, for when the roll was called in the House it voted "that the bill do pass, the Governor's veto to the contrary notwithstanding."[‡] Ayes nine, Nays two, Absent two. The negative votes were Republicans and the two absentees had paired their votes. Thus, by a bare two-thirds vote, the bill slipped through the House on December 9th, but it met its Waterloo in the Council by a strict party vote, Ayes five, Nays four. "There not being a two-thirds vote the bill was lost." Had one Republican faltered in his faith the bill would have been hopelessly lost.

Nothing more was heard about legislative action on Woman Suffrage from that day to the present. Honors were even, the Democrats gave the women their enfranchisement, the Republicans preserved to them this granted privilege.

* Council Journal, p. 42.

† Session Laws, 1869, p. 234.

‡ House Journal, 1871, p. 112.

Deputy Clerk

The Court was duly opened by W. R. Boswell. Sheriff

Now comes W. R. Boswell Sheriff of said County and makes return of the venire to him issued; of the following named persons by him summoned as Grand Jurors at the present term of this Court to wit; Perry Townsend, J. W. Teets, Ambrose Hatcher, W. H. Harlow, Louis Miller, M. A. Hance, Frederick Laycock; W. B. Bramel, Charles Bussard, Charles Nulton, Eliza Stewart, N. F. Spicer and May Madell; who on being called were found to be all present except Perry Townsend, and it was ordered by the court that another Juror be summoned in place of said Perry Townsend, now comes W. R. Boswell Sheriff and makes return of Geo. C. Dinsmore as such Grand Juror comes now Agnes Baker, Geo. C. Dinsmore and N. F. Spicer and ask to be excused from serving as Grand Jurors, and having heard said applicants in that behalf it is ordered by the Court that they be

PAGE WHEREON, FOR THE FIRST TIME IN HISTORY, WOMEN'S NAMES APPEAR AS GRAND JURORS

This photographic reproduction from the Minute Docket, Albany County, Wyoming, is here shown through the courtesy of F. J. Ihmsen, Clerk of the Court

Monday March 7th 1870.

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Court, they retire to their rooms under the charge of the Sheriff of said County.

Now comes Mr. Boswell Sheriff and makes return of the venire to him issued of the following named persons by him summoned as Petit Jurors for the present term of this Court to wit: James Adams Wm Crawford - C. R. LeRoy - Retha Bushman Michael Gallow - Nellie Hazen - Andrew Sumner - Fannie Lancaster - Henry Buggenye - Martin Albert - Mary Wilcox - Mary L. Flynn A. C. Anna - J. M. Mansfield - Edward Faneel - J. M. Hartough - M. B. Tanner - L. H. Ashton Lizzie A. Spooner - M. G. Linn - James B. Strong John Kellogg - James Emerson and C. W. Harrington. Who upon being called are found to be all present except - C. R. LeRoy. J. M. Mansfield and Mary Flynn. Comes now C. R. LeRoy, Mary Flynn - Fannie Emerson and Lizzie A. Spooner and ask to be excused from serving as Petit Jurors, and having heard said applicants in their behalf. It is ordered by the Court that they be excused from serving as Petit Jurors. And it was further ordered by the Court, that five



THE HONORABLE JOSEPH M. CAREY

In 1869 Mr. Carey was appointed Attorney-General of Wyoming Territory. This photograph was taken in 1874, when he was Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the Territory. He has served Wyoming in many high offices



THE HONORABLE JOSEPH M. CAREY, GOVERNOR OF WYOMING

The Senate have received the bill
 for the purpose of the same and have
 the Committee have a statement in relation to the
 rights of women in this State and have
 of the same and have received the same and have
 to be held in under the laws of the State and have
 the elective franchise and to give the same to the
 laws of the Territory as they are now in force
 shall apply and be in force from and after the

I hereby certify that the above bill
 originated in the Council. *Wm. H. C.*
John C. ... *Wm. H. C.*
Secretary Council *Wm. H. C.*
 attest
L. L. ... *Approved 10th December, 1889*
Chief Clerk *C. J.*

PHOTOGRAPHIC REPRODUCTION OF THE FIRST LEGISLATIVE ACT GRANTING SUFFRAGE
 TO THE WOMEN OF WYOMING
 This reproduction, which is slightly reduced in size from the original, is shown here through the
 courtesy of the Honorable Frank L. Houx, Secretary of State of Wyoming

THE FIRST WOMAN JURY

As the time approached for the change from Territorial to State government and a date had been definitely set for the time of the convening of the Constitutional Convention, it was thought wise to call a mass meeting of the women of the entire Territory in order that definite action might be taken relative to including the woman suffrage section in the proposed constitution.

There is no record to be found in all of the annals of both the Territory and State that a woman's convention has ever been called to consider the question of Equal Suffrage, except this one held early in June, 1889, at Cheyenne. More than one hundred prominent women were present at this mass meeting, at which time the matter of equal suffrage was earnestly discussed. A local paper published at the time says: "The assemblage was in every respect a representative one. The sharp-visaged crank on female suffrage was not seen; instead, were various faces of wives and mothers from every walk of life. The ladies seemed very much in earnest and talked nothing but politics." The resolution committee, consisting of Mrs. Hale, widow of Governor William Hale, Mrs. Morgan, wife of the Secretary of State, and Grace Raymond Hebard, a young woman recently from college, presented a set of resolutions which were unanimously adopted. The section of particular importance was the one that read: "Resolved, That we demand of the Constitutional Convention that woman suffrage be affirmed in the State Constitution."

There were no opponents to equal suffrage at this convention, every speech and set of resolutions being for the object for which the meeting was called. The chairman of the convention, Mrs. Amelia Post, told the women that eternal vigilance was the price of suffrage and that they should not permit the election of a delegate to the Constitutional Convention who was opposed to the woman suffrage plank.

No exact statement can be made as to the general activity of the women throughout the State in carrying out the instructions of the chairman, but the results of the election may speak for themselves, for only one pronounced opponent to woman suffrage was sent to the Constitutional Convention.

At the time of the Constitutional Convention, which met in Cheyenne September 2d to 30th, 1889, the question of woman suffrage received its share of attention. Not that there was any preconceived idea of depriving the women of the right to vote which they had exercised for twenty years, but the question arose that if the woman suffrage clause appeared in the proposed Constitution, might it not defeat the cause of Statehood? Would not Congress vote against a proposed State Constitution that included among its other measures one granting to women, for the first time in a constitution, the right of the ballot and to hold office? A few members of the convention also proposed that the woman suffrage section be submitted to the people for popular vote in a separate place

on the ballot from the vote on the adoption or rejection of the Constitution.* Advocates of this latter measure were at once accused of playing politics. This accusation was made openly on the floor of the convention and was not denied.† When the amendment was voted upon to submit the woman suffrage section as a separate issue from the Constitution, it was lost by an eight-to-twenty vote.‡

The former proposal, that in order not to jeopardize the chances for Statehood the woman suffrage section be eliminated, met with immediate and strong opposition, as is evidenced by the following excerpts taken from speeches made by several members of the convention. "Rather than to surrender the right which the women of this Territory have so long enjoyed, a privilege which they have not only used with credit to themselves, but with profit to the country, in which they live, I say, rather than surrender that right, we would rather remain in a territorial condition throughout the endless cycles of time."§ "It has become one of the fundamental laws of the land, and to raise any question about it at this time is as improper, in my judgment, as to raise any question as to any fundamental right guaranteed to any citizen of this territory."|| "If we cannot come into the Union of States with a platform of right (of women to vote), why, then, we will stay out and willingly remain in a territorial form of government until all of us have passed away to the grave."¶ After these and other pledges of allegiance to woman suffrage the section granting universal suffrage was included without further debate.

When Wyoming's proposed State Constitution was submitted to Congress for approval it contained this section: "The right of the citizens of this State of Wyoming to vote and hold office shall not be denied or abridged on account of sex. Both male and female citizens of this State shall equally enjoy all civil, political and religious rights and privileges."** In Congress the opposition to the Constitution was not as severe as had been feared, but was led by Mr. Springer, Democratic Congressman from Illinois, who bitterly opposed the proposed Constitution on two grounds. First, the section granting women the privilege of voting, and secondly, because of the fact that the members of the Constitutional Convention had been elected by the help of woman voters.††

July 10th, 1890, was a joyous day when Wyoming became a State with constitutional provision for woman suffrage. The precedent established by accepting Wyoming's Constitution, regardless of the woman suffrage, is not at variance with the Constitution of the United States, thus making it possible

* Journal and Debates of Constitutional Convention, p. 344.

† Journal and Debates of Constitutional Convention, pp. 352, 355.

‡ Journal and Debates of Constitutional Convention, p. 358.

§ Journal and Debates of Constitutional Convention, Mr. Holden, p. 350.

|| Journal and Debates of Constitutional Convention, Hon. M. C. Brown, President of the Convention, p. 353.

¶ Journal and Debates of Constitutional Convention, Mr. Burritt, p. 357.

** Wyoming Constitution, Art. VI, Sec. 1.

†† Congressional Record, March 30, 1890, pp. 2910-15.

THE FIRST WOMAN JURY

for other States to adopt similar measures without the question of constitutionality, the great bugaboo always dragged out at critical lawmaking moments. Five States* have followed in Wyoming's footsteps, giving to women complete suffrage, until over a million woman votes will be cast at the next general election,† a factor certainly to be considered in any political campaign.

Women in Wyoming have never been suffragettes, but always ardent suffragists, constantly and conscientiously voting until the privilege they exercise is looked upon as a part of Wyoming's past and future history.‡ Women have been elected to many offices, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, County Superintendents of Schools, County Treasurers and Clerks, Trustees of the State University, professors at the heads of departments in this seat of higher learning, Justices of the Peace, Judges and Clerks of Election, Public School Boards, and one woman has been a member of the State Legislature. There are many women physicians in the State, with but few ministers of the Gospel and one woman attorney-at-law.

Woman suffrage has not been a failure in Wyoming, due as largely to the broad-minded men who have espoused, supported and helped the measure as to those who were most directly concerned. Numerous as have been the supporters of this cause, to no one individual can more credit be given for the success of this initial movement in franchise than to the United States Attorney, who, being appointed by President Grant in 1869, came to frontier Wyoming, and has lived there until this day. From his earliest residence in the Territory he has been looked upon as *the* strong advocate, defender and staunch friend of woman suffrage. In season and out, when the movement was popular or when ridiculed, at home or abroad, Hon. Joseph M. Carey has always been relied upon for honest and fearless support of this suffrage movement. That the fact was appreciated and acknowledged was manifested at a recent election§ when Mr. Carey was elected Governor of the State of Wyoming "by the votes of the women."

When the accusation has been made that those who were the first to be allowed the right of franchise had not demonstrated to the world at large by deeds of violence or legislative acts that woman suffrage had accomplished wonders and had worked miracles in the body politic, the women of Wyoming have had a comfortable feeling that because of, not in spite of, their conservative methods in the acceptance and use of equal suffrage the same privilege has been extended to women of other States and of other countries.

Ten years after equal suffrage became operative in Wyoming a prominent

* Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Washington, California.

† 1912.

‡ See Note 2, at end of article.

§ November, 1910.

citizen said:* "My conclusions are that the household or family is more interested in good government than a single man is, or indeed can be, and if good government be the ultimatum sought by civilized people, I see no safer, wiser or better way of securing that object than by the ballot in the hand of woman."

Twenty years of woman's enfranchisement called forth the following testimony:† "It has been weighed and not found wanting. It has made our elections quiet and orderly. No rudeness, brawling or disorder appears or would be tolerated at the polling booths. There is no more difficulty or indelicacy in depositing a ballot in the urn than in dropping a letter in the postoffice."

Thirty years of voting by women of Wyoming bears this fruit:‡ "Women do generally take advantage of the right to vote, and vote intelligently. It has been years since we have had trouble at the polls, quiet and order being due to two causes, the presence of women as well as our efficient election laws."

Forty years of equal rights yield forceful evidence of its success:§ "I am satisfied that women's influence in political matters has been good. I have watched the operation of the law conferring these rights upon women with a great deal of interest, and I have been unable to see any disadvantages or any objection that could be raised against it."

Fifty years after the legislative act granting to the women of the Commonwealth of Wyoming the right of suffrage: May not one say without fear of contradiction, that a majority of the States in our Union will have equal suffrage if the women of those States unite in asking, petitioning and demanding the franchise privilege? As they are to be the beneficiaries, are they not the logical petitioners?

In six of our States, all in or west of the Rocky Mountain region, women not only vote but take an active part in municipal, State and national affairs. For many years Colorado, Utah, and Idaho have also given to their women the right of suffrage, while during the last twelve months the States of Washington|| and California have joined the ranks of equality States. At present the suffrage movement in America is unusually active, but not confined to the Western and younger States. Vigorous campaigns are now in force in many of the States east of the western mountains, even in those States bordering on the Atlantic, where conservatism is some people's greatest asset.

England must indeed be deaf if she is unable to hear the knocking at her legislative doors (and windows) by woman suffragists. The struggling women are no longer petitioning for equal rights but demanding from their lawmaking

* Hon. N. L. Anderson, speaker of the House of Representatives of Wyoming Territory.

† Hon. Herman V. S. Groesbeck, Chief Justice of Wyoming Supreme Court.

‡ Hon. Clarence D. Clark, United States Senator, of Wyoming.

§ Hon. Joseph M. Carey, Governor of Wyoming.

|| Washington has played hide-and-seek with woman suffrage, granting it, taking it away and granting it again.

THE FIRST WOMAN JURY

bodies the same right that the American Colonies first petitioned for, then demanded in a most militant manner, "representation with taxation."

The most amazing of all governmental regulations came from the oldest government and at the same time the newest Republic, China, which has granted to its women the right of suffrage. The status of Chinese women since time immemorial has not prepared one to think that this advanced step in governmental affairs was possible for the subjected women of the Orient. The suffrage victories in California and Washington, the front yard of China, unquestionably had their influence in assisting China to grant to her women equal suffrage. If this be true, has not the success of suffrage in Wyoming after a test of over forty years had its part in the development of more advanced civilization in our own country, as well as across the waters of the Atlantic and Pacific?

One meditates: "How far that little candle throws his beam!"

NOTES

I

The first election after the adoption of woman suffrage was held September 6, 1870, and Laramie boasted that Mrs. Eliza A. Swain, a lady of seventy years of age, cast the first woman's vote in Wyoming, or in the world. An eyewitness of the first woman voting narrates that Mrs. Swain, on the morning of election day, made a determined effort to be the first voter at the polls. Putting on a fresh, clean apron over her house dress, she walked to the polls early in the morning, unaided, carrying a little bucket for yeast to be bought at the bakeshop on her return home. It is interesting to note that the domestic instinct was not consumed by the new political obligations, and that the judge of election recorded the vote of this gentle, determined, white-haired woman with more than an ordinary degree of reverence.

2

Special mention should be made of the advocacy of equal suffrage, after being in active operation for a period of forty-two years, by Hon. Francis E. Warren, who, since his coming to Wyoming early in 1868, has served the Territory and State as member of the Legislature, Mayor, Governor of both Territory and State, and United States Senator. In April, 1912, he said: "The women of Wyoming have contributed their votes toward the establishment and maintenance of desirable governmental conditions in Wyoming, in State, County, and Municipal affairs. They have not sought to inaugurate any radical changes, but have supported all movements for good government and for the benefit of the people of the State generally."



Warren

The Old French Fort

BY

MRS. HARRIET DEWEY IRELAND



AMONG the Berkshire Hills, in western Massachusetts, a wild and picturesque region, which, for beauty of scenery, has been justly styled the "Piedmont of America," were many quaint buildings and other historic landmarks, a half-century ago, which have one by one faded from the landscape, until but few traces of them remain.

One of these, about which clustered many tender memories and tragic incidents of colonial life, was a massive brown structure, standing a little to the northward of the village of Mahaiwe—Great Barrington—in southern Berkshire.

It was square built, loopholed for musketry, with heavy, barred entrance, and a tower from which the country for miles around could be surveyed; and was long known as the "Block House"; but more recently, from the date of its erection, which was during the French and Indian War, as the "Old French Fort"; and with its history were connected more tragic and stirring events, probably, than with any other of the historic landmarks of the country; with, as we shall see, also, a touch of romance to brighten its grim and powder-stained walls.

The early settlers who blazed their way through the dense forests and over the hills from Westfield and more eastern towns in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, in 1726, and made their homes on these alluvial meadows and smiling uplands, dwelt in comparative safety for a quarter of a century.

They made friends of the Indians, from whom they purchased land for nominal sums, it would seem; for the whole of the Housatonic Township was bought of the Muh-he-kun-muc tribe for "460 Pounds, 2 barrels of Cider, and 60 Quarts of Rum." To this weighty document was affixed the signet of the Sachem Houkapot and his braves, Po-no-yote, Pe-te-wake-out, Nau-nau-squam, We-no-no-gow, Con-go-nau-peat, and others to the number of twenty-one, making the holdings of the settlers of this rich region indisputable forever; and they settled, as they best could, in some instances after wearisome and expensive litigation with their Dutch neighbors on the New York border, who claimed a large portion of this territory under an earlier patent called "Westennook," granted under the seal of the Province of New York by "our Right Trusty and well-beloved Cousin Edward, Viscount Cornbury, Captain Gen'l and Governor-in-Chief in and over our said Province of New York and Territories, depending thereon in America, and Vice

Admirall of the same, etc.”* Here they built their lowly log dwellings and school-houses, and erected churches, for which, in the settlement, lots had been “Sequestered to the Ministry”; and the youthful apostle, Sergeant, established an Indian mission school; and gradually they gained a sense of security and happiness in their new surroundings, as families and friends multiplied about them, and barns and storehouses increased under their busy and prosperous hands.

The river, which came down through the valley, was called by the Indians On-we-ton-nuc, or Hoo-es-tonnuc; Hoo-es in Indian dialect meaning over, and tonnuc, mountain; by the Dutch it was called Westenhook; or, as it is variously written, Westenook and Westennuc, and is known in Connecticut, through which it flows, on its way to the sound, as Wyanoek, until near its mouth, where it bears the English name of Stratford. This river was then, as now, the beneficent genius of the valley and wrought like a Titan, supplying power for saw and grist mills upon its banks, and fertilizing the broad acres.

But a change came to the unwary settlers dwelling in the beautiful Housatonic Valley. The occasional outbursts among the few remaining Indian tribes, or disturbance from wandering savages flying over the border from some fierce Pequot or Narragansett foe, had been but as the mutterings of distant thunder and hardly arrested their labors or caused them a pang of fear.

But France and the mother country declared war, and what affected England's honor it was still the duty of the colonists to maintain. The brave pioneers in the little hamlets among the Berkshire Hills were as loyal then, and as true to the principles of liberty as they proved later, when they struck their first telling blow against the English monarch; or as where, at the news of the battle of Lexington, they donned their uniforms and with hurried good-byes to mothers and sweethearts disappeared among the shadowy trees on the trail across the State.”†

The respite from these exciting experiences, brought by the peace of 1746, was followed by the second French War, in which the Housatonic settlers loyally bore their share; suffering terror for families and firesides. A terrifying incident in the autumn of 1754 brought in a new era of calamities.

The little company of settlers, who had gathered, as was their wont, in the meeting-house on the Lord's Day and were listening to one of the hour-long discourses of their pastor, Dr. Samuel Hopkins, were disturbed by a flying messenger: “The Indians to the north were in revolt! Stockbridge was burning! The hapless people were fleeing and seeking hiding places in every direction; some were scalped; women were being massacred; children tomahawked or carried away captive!” Such was the frightful tale which brought terror and consternation to the little assembly, which broke up in an instant; and which was

* Book of Patents, No. 7, page 290, in office of Secretary of State, at Albany, New York.

† The news of the battle of Lexington reached Berkshire at noon of the 20th of April; and the next morning at sunrise the regiment of Colonel Patterson, fully equipped and accoutred, started for the seat of war. Taylor's History of Great Barrington, page 232.

THE OLD FRENCH FORT

speedily confirmed by the crowd of fugitive women and children which straggled in upon them.* This outbreak on Stockbridge Plain was but the precursor of many scenes of terror among this people, whose scattered settlements, being at a great distance from the parent colony, were subjected to unusual danger, and whose very existence thereafter was often threatened.

With the greater needs of the times houses were speedily fortified and palisades bristled about them; and as a more secure place of resort, the Block-House, or Fort, was constructed, for which the government, mindful of the dangers threatening these loyal citizens, made an appropriation.

It stood, as we have seen, where the valley of the Housatonic widens out north of Mahaim Village, upon the "home lot" of one hundred acres, whose title one of the forty-five original pioneers and founders of the town, Israel Dewey, received from the Colonial Legislature. It was near to the highway over which ponderous wagons, loaded with ammunition, were drawn on the highway from Boston to Albany and the forts on Lakes George and Champlain. Its site was long marked by an ancient pear tree and a well, with a mighty sweep, whose pure depths afforded refreshment to the fevered and travel-wearied troops marching by.

It was not large, but squarely built of hewn timbers, with a cellar which was always kept well stocked with provisions and arms. A lofty tower surmounted the second story, from which not even the stealthy savage, defiling through Indian Pass from Beartown, or Mas-we-so-he—Monument Mountain—on the north, or through the fordway by the "Castle" or "Great Wigwam" from Skatekook (Sheffield) on the south, could approach the settlement unobserved.

When the patriotic fathers and brothers were absent on forced marches, or in Canada, fighting heroically against odds for their country, the wives and mothers proved themselves also great in heroism; and labored tirelessly at the loom and spinning-wheel, and even in the fields, by day; but before the shadows lengthened on Monument Mountain's rugged sides, or the sunshine faded from the hoary head of "Old Tom Ball," precautions for safety were begun; carders were set aside with sweffs and reels; flocks and fowls were tethered and housed; children gathered together, and the scattered families, by roadside and lane, wended their lonely way to the Old French Fort. There, after the great doors were firmly barricaded, touchwood and tinder-box laid ready to hand, and guns carefully primed at the port-holes, the nights were passed in comparative safety. Sometimes the scream of a wildcat, or a marauding panther would be mistaken for an Indian whoop; after the first terrifying thought they would huddle themselves closer together, breathlessly murmuring the prayer which was constantly in the settler's heart, "Save us, O God, from the terrible savage!"

But the Berkshire colonists trusted much to the Indians who still resided near them, at Indian Town (Stockbridge), or scattered over the level Hoplands

* See Professor Park's *Life of Dr. Samuel Hopkins*. Letter dated September 3, 1754.

(Lee), or Province Lands (Egremont), which were secured to them by government. Messengers, with signs of warning, came from Um-pa-chene, the friendly Sachem from Skatekook down the river, or from Captain Kon-ka-pot, chief of the Skat-e-kook tribe, at the base of Maus-sa-we-ki, to the northward. With this knowledge, and the thought of their "tower of defense," the Block-House or Fort, near at hand, a greater sense of security came to the little band of colonists, who proved the strength of the fort at many a trying juncture during those perilous times. The battered door, and dented, blackened sides bore silent witness to the attacks of companies of hostile French warriors and savages who sometimes made incursions over the Connecticut border.

But these invasions, which harassed the settlers during those troublous years, from 1755 to 1760, ceased with the cessation of hostilities between England and France.

Thenceforward the Old Fort, as such, fell into disuse and became, at various times, an arsenal where previous stores of ammunition were housed against a possible outbreak or call to arms of the Provincial Government; and from which the minute-men might be promptly equipped.

Later, it assumed the air of a hospital, where worn and wearied soldiers were cared for; and, as frequently chanced, if they were victims of the prevailing army scourge, inoculation was practiced; but such was the prejudice of the people against that treatment, they always refused to sanction it.

At another period the fort became, from the dug-out in the cellar to the loft of the great square tower, a public storehouse, where grain and provisions were cached for man and beast against the uncertainty of the rigorous claimate and a possible time of famine or shortage.

The passing years brought still greater changes. With scant buildings, and small means among the settlers to supply others, when even the meeting-house, as the rude church was styled, served as a town hall on week days, and was considered no less sacred for that by those thrifty Puritans, who carefully compounded their religion with business, and their business with religion. For pleasure they had small need to provide, in those grim days. Their stronghold, the Old French Fort, about which clustered both tragic and tender memories, was demeaned to become a blacksmith shop; and the mighty Vulcan who presided at the forge in butternut-dyed jerkin and small-clothes, with hair cropped after the pattern of a Roundhead, was the autocrat of the valley, since he was sole artificer in his special craft. But this desecration was not long endured. One day the spirit of improvement entered the blackened portals and the debris which accompanied a forge was swept away, and all things were made new. The floors were relaid with hewn oaken planks well spiked down; chimney and hearth were repaired; time-eaten defenses were replaced by grates and bearded spikes; doors secured with giant bars and huge padlocks; and the glorious vistas of hill and valley,

meadow and upland, let in by the unused port-holes, were barred out by inexorable law, as the old fort became metamorphosed into a prison or gaol.

No fraudulent transgressor, or time-serving Tory committed for evil deeds or utterances, might look for freedom until his fault was expiated, if he had once entered that grim dungeon. As it sometimes chanced, poor debtors were incarcerated whose only fault was helpless inability to discharge their obligations, incurred, perhaps, through reverses occasioned by war and a depreciated currency, for whom a heartless creditor would sometimes pay board, rather than permit their release. An incident of this nature occurred in 1762.

The summer, always brief but enchanting in the high latitude of the Berkshire Hills, crested the hilltops with foliage and clothed the valleys with flowers; soft winds and sweet scents soughed temptingly about the barred openings of the old fort, whose unfortunate inmates could not go beyond the "jail limits"; which included hardly a hand's breadth of the wide, grassy meadow upon which it stood. For one of these unfortunates, a certain poor but worthy debtor, who was the victim of his hard-hearted creditor's persecutions, the hearts of the beautiful young daughters of the sheriff were moved to compassion, and they determined to free him at the first opportunity. The temporary absence of their father soon afforded them the opportunity they sought. The prisoner, having given bonds not to pass beyond the "limits," which in this instance were defined by a timber at the roadside, they conceived the plan of freeing him by proxy. Tying a rope to the timber, they allowed the prisoner to draw it, which he accomplished after many herculean efforts, to the jail; and being no longer restrained by a barrier, *which did not exist*, rejoicingly wended his way to liberty!

Of the indignation and wrath which the sheriff exhibited when he returned to his home and found that one of the prisoners with whose safe keeping he had been charged had burst his bonds and was missing; and of his incredulity and amazement when he ascertained the facts concerning his release, it is not needful to dilate.

No worthy father of "ye oldene tyme" could fail to gravely admonish the culprits, or refuse to screen them from the law which the keeper well knew had penalties for all offenders, even if they were, as in this instance, the well beloved of his own household.

But we may well believe that the keen sense of justice of Sheriff Dewey, who always "vigorously maintained his own views of right and wrong, in Church and State," was secretly enlisted in behalf of the trembling maidens.

When the bondsmen of the absconding debtor brought the matter into court, the young women were obliged to appear as witnesses. Two youthful lawyers appeared upon the scene and offered to defend them, which was so ably and eloquently done that the magistrate was disposed to leniency and they were triumphantly released. The episode, albeit contrary to legal enactment, won the fair

defenders many encomiums, and as appeared shortly after, much more. Chivalry deepened into a tender sentiment on the part of those who had maintained the cause of beauty against oppression, and the elder shortly became the proud bride of the popular and promising lawyer, Ensign de Bruer,* whose sword, worn bravely on many a tented field, was never sheathed at injustice, and who would have defended the fair Eleanor against a legion of avaricious bondsmen. The hand of the gentler, but equally courageous, Lydia was not less proudly claimed by one of a long line of distinguished expositors and expounders of constitutional law,† whose descendants to this day recount with great glee the interference with the majesty of law of great-grandmother Lydia.

With the additions which the years brought to the numbers of the settlers, a new prison or jail was provided, upon the petition of Sheriff Dewey, for the Berkshire colonists; and again the old fort was dismantled, and it passed into the hands of Adjutant Benedict Dewey, son of the former owner, who then came into possession of the broad acres upon which it stood.

The new proprietor, who was a zealous member of the Committee of Safety, and prosecutor of the "Test Bill," and an intrepid soldier in many battles during the Revolutionary War, was one of the officers who was detailed to escort the captive general and his army of English and Hessian soldiery across the State to Boston.‡ Their route was through southern Berkshire, and they were encamped in Mahaim (now Great Barrington), part of the army resting to the northward of the hamlet, on the level, sheltered lands near the old fort. And so, once again, it served as a hospital for sick soldiers, a number of whom never resumed their places in the army; but, remaining in the town, became, in later years, good citizens of the Republic, and were wont on "General Training Day," and other public occasions, to shout the orders for military drill.

With the close of the great Revolutionary struggle the white-winged dove of peace came to brood over the land, and the Old French Fort, with other historical landmarks of Berkshire, lost its air of rigor under the benign influence.

Locks, bars and bolts disappeared; vines clambered about the blackened sides. Within the time-stained walls, which once gave moaningly back the savage war whoop and shrieks of terrified children, were heard sweet voices of children in pastime and the busy hum of industry.

But "Time's effacing fingers" at last conquered even these evidences of peaceful rural life; and silently, year by year, all vestiges of the old fort faded from the beautiful landscape, until this grim reminder of colonial life and trials became only a treasured memory in the minds of venerable inhabitants, to be rehearsed in

* Ensign John de Bruer or Burghardt, as the name was sometimes written; page 161, *History of Great Barrington, Massachusetts*.

† Joseph Dwight, son of Brigadier-General Joseph Dwight, Judge of Court of Common Pleas, Worcester County, Massachusetts; ancestor of many well known lawyers of the name; page 175, *Taylor's History of Great Barrington, Massachusetts*.

‡ See *Taylor's History* for account of Burgoyne as prisoner at Great Barrington, page 250.

THE OLD FRENCH FORT

quavering tones to awe-struck children, or dimly recalled on the pages of history, when the hearts of their children's children linger gratefully over these records of the past and pay loving tribute to the virtues of their colonial ancestors.

The following quaint bill, a copy of one of several remaining among ancient records, shows the occupancy of the old fort at the time of which I write :

"Great Barrington, Sept. 9, 1762.

"To the Honourable his Majesties Justices of the Court Now Holden att Great Barrington for the County of Berkshire :

"Humbly moves Israel Dewey that this Honor'd Court would allow your petitioner the sums this Honoured Court shall think proper for the following articles, Namely :

	£	s	d
For the use of my house a year for a Goal,	4.	0.	0
For spikes and mending the Goal	0.	5.	0
For boarding Abraham Waunaumpas Nine Weeks while in Goal @ 3.6			
By taking S'd Abraham by a warrant Directed to me and carrying him into York Government and De- livering him to the Sheriff of the County of Albany	0.	9.	0
Turning ye key for Abraham	0.	3.	0
Assistance in carrying S'd Abraham Away			
Landlord Root with Two Horses and Drink	0.	12.	6

£7. 10.

"And I also pray this Honoured Court to provide a Goal for the County for the future.

"This from your Honour's most obedient servant,

"ISRAEL DEWEY."





Boone

Old Mercersburg

The Patriotic Work of a Woman's Club & How the Picturesque History of an Old Pennsylvania Town Has Been Preserved & An Example of Women's Loyalty, Women's Zeal, and Women's Perseverance

BY

THE WOMAN'S CLUB OF MERCERSBURG.



HE old-time saying might be appropriately altered for modern Americans into "Of the making of Women's Clubs there is no end." They are scattered abroad through the land in villages, towns, and large cities. Women have organized in clubs social, clubs literary, clubs artistic, clubs educational, clubs philanthropic, clubs athletic, clubs political, and clubs patriotic. Many of these have accomplished noteworthy achievements, and indeed, as a general thing, their enterprises are far more numerous, and their energies far more spirited than are those of men's clubs, which are usually purely social or athletic in nature. For the political society with men is apt to be more or less an official branch of a "party machine."

But, despite the energy and the myriad enterprises, it is a fact that all of the achievements of the women's clubs do not impress the American public at large as being of really deep and permanent value to the whole community, or, perhaps, to the women themselves. Therefore, it is a pleasure to record in *The Journal of American History* from time to time the splendid records of the American women leagued together in high purpose and accomplishing "worth-while" results in earnest, selfless, beautifully womanly ways. *The Journal of American History* has been naturally, from the scope of its own work, a devout supporter of the Patriotic Societies, and it is a truism that the most active workers in these are generally women. But most women's clubs have some affiliation with the patriotic spirit. For patriotism in an ardent woman is like a rose at her breast, pouring out fragrance wherever she goes; while it is more often to a man symbolized by a laurel wreath whose shadow he sees above his own head.

It is not only a pleasure, but a duty, to bring to the admiration of *The Journal's* readers the work of the Woman's Club of Mercersburg. A band of truly public-spirited women in a Pennsylvania town—which has played a noteworthy part in the annals of our Colonial and early Republic history, and which is today leading its unpretentious, dignified, cultured, typically American life, as through-

out the past generations—conceived a noble ambition and carried it out with admirable efficiency to magnificent success. !

Their own account of their achievement is most womanly-modest. "The Woman's Club of Mercersburg, in search of some pleasant activity, decided to gather together the many scattered bits of history, biography, and tradition which were fast being lost sight of, and to put them into more nearly permanent form."

Their work has been that of the true historian—tireless, unceasing. Carefully have they sought, skillfully have they woven together the many-colored threads of chronicle and legend, and their tangible result was a most valuable, interesting, and beautiful book, which it was the privilege of *The Journal of American History* to issue under its auspices. The edition was exhausted almost immediately upon publication, but the portions of these records of an old American town here given will convey to the readers of *The Journal of American History* at least something of the charm of the complete work, which we regret cannot here be reproduced in entirety.

Should other organizations be interested in learning more in detail of this achievement of the Woman's Club of Mercersburg it would be a great pleasure to reply to inquiries and to place the service of *The Journal of American History* at their disposal for similar results.

THE EDITOR.





MAIN STREET IN OLD MERCERSBURG

1903



GENERAL HUGH MERCER



THE early history of Mercersburg, Pennsylvania, is the history of the West Conococheague Settlement of Cumberland County, now Franklin. This settlement comprised all the country drained by the west branch of the Conococheague Creek, hence its name. It embraced a territory of fourteen miles in length, extending from Mt. Parnell to the Maryland boundary and including St. Thomas, Fort Loudon, Mercersburg, Upton, and Welsh Run.

The pioneer settler of this town was James Black, who, tradition says, purchased the land on which Mercersburg stands from the Indians for a gun and a string of beads. Thus Black secured the good will of the Indians, without which the Proprietors of Pennsylvania were never willing that settlement should be made. "Be tender of offending the Indians and let them know you have come to sit down lovingly among them," were Penn's instructions to his commissioners.

This James Black has appeared as a half-mythical person for whom tradition built a mill as early as 1730 on the stream at the northern end of the town. A diligent search after facts has given more definite knowledge of him. He was the son of John and Jane Black, who apparently were the earliest settlers in this region and possessed themselves of a large tract of land lying west of Mercersburg.

The mill Black built was a small log structure, long since disappeared. To this mill the settlers for miles around, afoot and horseback, brought their grist to be ground, waiting to take the flour home with them. Thus it became a waiting place and centre for the frontiersman; a store was added; gradually a few houses sprang up and the settlement became known as Black's Town. A part of Black's tract, with mill, store, etc., was purchased by William Smith on the 22d day of October, 1759, and Black's Town became Smith's Town, or Squire Smith's Town, as it was frequently called. It is of interest to note the names of other settlers around here, some of these we get from the Shannon Patent, still in the possession of that family. It reads as follows:

"Thomas Penn and John Penn, esq., true and absolute proprietaries and governors-in-chief of the province of Pennsylvania and the counties of New castle, Kent and Sussex upon Delaware. To all unto whom these Presents shall come, Greetings: Whereas in pursuance of a Warrant dated the 27th day of November, 1751, granted to Peter Corbett, there was surveyed for William Shannon (to whom said Corbet conveyed by deed, dated the 9th day of March, 1758) a certain tract of land called Shannon's Industry situate in Peters town-ship, Cumberland county. Beginning at a marked hickory, thence by Thomas Baird's land—thence by vacant land—thence by James Black's land—thence by Joseph Huston's and Joseph Bradner's lands," etc.

Other settlers were John Wray, who bought a tract that James Black had transferred to Richard Peters, Matthew Wilson, Benjamin Kirkpatrick, James

Rankin, William McDowell, James and Robert McClellan, Robert Culbertson, James Gardner, and James Wilkins.

William Smith, the Proprietor of Smith's Town, was the son of James and Janet Smith. He married his cousin Mary, a sister of Col. James Smith, of "Black Boy" fame. In 1755 William Smith was appointed one of the commissioners to build the military road which General Braddock had demanded of the Provincial Government. This road was to extend from McDowell's mill to the Three Forks of the Youghiogheny. Under the personal supervision of the Commissioners the bridle path was converted into a wagon road for the passage of troops and transportation of military supplies, but the work was done under constant danger from the Indians. When William Smith went out with his three hundred road cutters, one of them was his brother-in-law, James Smith. Both William and James Smith were typical pioneers and played an active part in the early history of this part of the Province. When Black's property passed into the hands of Smith (1759), he was the most active and prominent man on the frontier. This post, so near the gap through which the Indian trail led from the valley into the mountain, soon had an extensive trade with the western frontier and grew in importance. It was not an uncommon sight to see from fifty to one hundred pack horses in a line laden with salt, iron, and merchandise of all kinds, destined for the settlers or the Indians beyond the mountains. Later, when wagons came into use in the valley, freight was here transferred to pack horses to cross the mountains.

William Smith died on March 27, 1775, and in his will bequeathed the central part of his original tract to his son, William. The latter laid out on this land, March 17, 1786, a new town, which he named Mercersburg, in honor of General Hugh Mercer—a fitting tribute to one who had lived among these people, attended them in sickness, shared their dangers, and led them against their common foe.

The settlers of the West Conococheague, as early as 1748, found it necessary to organize themselves for the defense of life and property. The Indians had long forgotten that "the Indians and English must live in love as long as the sun gave light," and the Provincial Government was obliged to frequently renew the treaties when the "Chain of Friendship" would be polished by presents of English goods. This "brightening the chain" proved so profitable to the Indians and they became so skillful in drawing out "well piled up" presents that the system became a burden to the white men.

The Quaker Government had been slow to use anything like a display of force with the red men, and settlers had been obliged to protect themselves; this they had done by organizing a militia and building private stockades and block houses. In 1748 we find Major William Maxwell and Lieutenant William Smith and John Winton, of Peters township, guarding the west side. The names James

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and Joshua Patterson, Irvins, William Rankin, Matthew Shields, senior and junior, and Daniel Shields, who all belonged to the militia or rangers, sound like West Conococheague names.

In 1753 war broke out in earnest between the English and French. The latter were always skillful in gaining the Indians as allies, and this means war for the English settlers. The annals of the Conococheague Settlement for the following twelve years cover a series of Indian incursions, captures and massacres.

The defeat of Braddock in 1755 left the whole frontier uncovered and the greatest consternation prevailed among the unprotected inhabitants of the Cumberland Valley and especially of the Conococheague Settlement. A reign of terror ensued and large numbers of the settlers fled to safer parts of the Province. Some neighborhoods were entirely deserted, and particularly of the West Conococheague Settlement was this true. The church, which the early pioneers had established in 1738, was for a time disbanded. Everywhere men flew to arms, and companies were organized. Hugh Mercer was made captain of one of these, while the Rev. John Steele was captain of another.

The danger was so imminent that the Colonial Government sought to establish a chain of forts extending from Path Valley to the Maryland boundary. At this time the West Conococheague had several forts which served as rallying points for protection and defense, and as places of refuge for the women and children when the men were absent from home. When the first settlers organized their church, in 1738, Churchill was chosen as the most central point in the territory it embraced. Early in its history this church became a place of protection. Built of logs, it was enclosed by a stockade of logs, which were seventeen feet long, pointed at the end and set in a ditch four or five feet deep. The stockade was provided with loopholes and on the inside was a platform, raised a few feet from the ground, on which the defenders stood. This was known as Steele's Meeting House and Steele's Fort from the pastor's name. Rev. John Steele became the pastor in the troublous times of 1754. In those perilous days both shepherd and flock alike carried their arms with them to this place of worship. Rev. Steele more than once led forth his people in pursuit of the Indians; indeed, one of the first companies organized on the bloody outbreak of the Delaware Indians in 1755 selected him for its captain. He was called the Reverend Captain. In a government account the following is found: "Nov. 25, 1755. The Rev. John Steele at Conocochig: 2 quarter casks of powder; 2 cwt. of lead."

Fort Davis was erected by Philip Davis in 1756 and was situated near the Maryland boundary line. It was a private fort, but was often garrisoned by companies of rangers. It seems to have been located near Casey's Knob, on the McPherran farm, now owned by the Royer heirs, two miles southwest of Welsh

Run, according to the "Report of the Commission to Locate the Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania."

Maxwell's Fort was a private fort built by William Maxwell. It stood between Welsh Run and Upton, on Judge Maxwell's farm, afterwards the Duffield farm. The fort was built of logs and was but a few rods distant from the old stone mansion which was built later by the Maxwells and is still standing. This was formerly the home of James Duffield, Esq., of Welsh Run, within whose recollection there were still standing some remnants of the old fort.

The difficulties under which the defenders of the frontier labored are shown in a letter written by Mr. Steele to Governor Morris, April 11, 1756:

"Most of the forts have not received their full complement of guns. But we are in a great measure supplied by the arms the young men had brought with them. Captain Patterson had received but 33 fire-arms. Captain Mercer has not so many, but is supplied by Mr. Croghan's arms, and Captain Hamilton has lost a considerable number of his at the late skirmish at Sideling Hill. As I can neither have the men, arms, nor blankets, I am obliged to apply to your Honor for them; the necessity of the circumstances has obliged me to muster before two magistrates the one-half of my company whom I enlisted and am obliged to order guns. I pray that with all possible expedition 54 arms and as many blankets and a quantity of flints, may be sent to me, for since McCord's Fort has been taken and the men defeated and pursued, our country is in the utmost confusion, great numbers have left the county and many are preparing to follow. May it please your honor to enlist me an ensign, for I find a sergeant's pay will not prevail with men to enlist in whom much confidence is reposed. I beg leave to recommend Archibald Erwin to your honor for the purpose." (Rupp, p. 105.)

Mr. Cord's Fort, mentioned here, was a private fort near Mt. Parnell, which was destroyed by the Indians on or about April 4, 1756. All the inmates, twenty-seven in number, were either killed or carried into captivity. This fort was on the farm now owned by John W. Bossart, midway between St. Thomas and Strasburg.

In 1761 an alarm of Indians caused all the settlers to flee to McDowell's Mill for safety. After a time, the enemy seemingly having disappeared, and the supplies at the fort being low, one, Mrs. Cunningham, who was a sister of Rev. John King, laid it upon herself as a duty, to return to her own home, it being close by, and bring milk for the children. This she did, whereupon an Indian, lurking nearby, suffered her to milk the cows and return as far as to the foot of the hill near the fort, when he shot her in the back, killing her almost in sight of the fort.

John Work, who was one of the early settlers in "The Corner," returning one day from tending his traps, found his house in flames and saw an Indian



AN OLD MERCERSBURG HOUSE
Built by Samuel Findlay in the latter part of the Eighteenth Century



IN CHURCH HILL GRAVEYARD, MERCERSBURG

Here are graves of many early settlers of the town—Bards, Irwins, Findlays, Smiths, and others. Within the tomb of Reverend John King, in the foreground, were concealed many valuables during the Civil War

running away. Although the distance was great the settler raised his gun and fired; the Indian fell, killed instantly. He was buried on the spot, where his grave can yet be seen.

Fort Loudon was located about one mile southwest of the present village of Fort Loudon. It was built on the land of an early settler, Matthew Patton. This farm, which long remained in possession of the Patton family, is now owned by William Hoerner. The fort was built by Colonel Armstrong in 1756, to take the place of Fort McDowell, which was not deemed strong enough for the protection of the valley at this point, where the gaps in the Tuscarora Range gave the Indians easy access to the Kittochtinny Valley.

In crossing the country the Indian always chose the shortest way through the valleys and over the mountains; the hunter naturally took the same trail, and he, in turn, was followed by the trader; the way of the pack horse at last becoming the wagon road. It is interesting to note that the routes taken by men skilled only in woodcraft were followed in later years by the engineers of the turnpike and, in many cases, of the railroad. The trail through Cove Gap, west of Mercersburg, is a striking example of this. The path for the pack horses carrying their goods over the mountains followed the trail of the Indians through the Gap into the gorge known as Stony Batter. It then makes a steep ascent to the old John Tom place. The turnpike, on entering the Gap, diverges to the left and climbs the mountain by an easy, regular grade at no place more than a few rods distant from the packer's path. At the Tom place the turnpike comes into the old path, which it follows to the top of the mountain. There it again diverges, this time to the right, leaving the path to the left. Like Stony Batter, the Tom place was a store and inn in the days when the packer's path was a thoroughfare leading from Baltimore to Pittsburgh. It was a common sight in those days to see a long line of pack horses—often as many as fifteen—tethered together, with two men in charge. One man led the foremost horse and the driver followed the file to watch the packs and urge the laggards. Two hundred pounds were considered a horse's load.

On the wagon road which succeeded the packer's path, was seen the Conestoga wagon, that true American vehicle with its curved bottom, which made it especially fitted for traversing mountain roads, the curved bottom preventing the freight from slipping too far at either end when going up or down hill. The body was invariably painted a bright blue, with sideboards of a vivid red. Four to seven horses were used in these wagons, according to the load; and from twenty to one hundred teams would follow in close order. Taverns and inns were numerous in those days, each bearing a name, usually painted on a swinging sign board with some significant emblem added. It is said that every tenth house along the turnpike was a hostelry. The building of a turnpike was an undertaking equal to that of building a railroad in these days. The turnpike

passing through this town was built about 1820, the contractor for part of the road being Mr. William Metcalfe, a citizen of Mercersburg.

What is now known as the Warm Spring road was originally an Indian trail extending from the East to the Warm Springs at Berkeley, West Virginia. This road enters Mercersburg on the east by Oregon street and continues through the town under the names of Oregon and Park streets, while beyond it is known as the Corner Road. Passing through Blair's Valley, it reaches Berkeley by a devious course through the mountain passes.

The first road to Baltimore, which was mainly followed by the present turnpike, came about in this way. At the April session of the Cumberland County Court, in 1761, the people of Peters township petitioned for a road, saying that they have no prospect of a standing market for the produce of the country except at Baltimore, and flour being the principal commodity, this "township produceth and having two mills in said township, viz: John McDowell's and William Smith's, they pray the Court to "appoint men to view and lay out a road from each of said mills to meet at or near the house of William Maxwell and from thence to run by the nearest and best way towards the said town of Baltimore." The viewers reported in favor of granting this petition, but the branch roads to the mills were restricted to bridle paths which were to unite near James Irwin's mill in Peters township, and thence through Antrim township to Nicholson's Gap in the South Mountain, and from there to Baltimore.

It is difficult to determine the soldiers who enlisted in the War of the Revolution from West Conococheague, as it then was part of Cumberland County. There was one Company, No. 4, from Peters township, that had the following officers: Captain, James Patton; First Lieutenant, Thomas McDowell; Second Lieutenant, John Welsh; Ensign, John Dickey. Another, Company 6, recruited from Montgomery and Peters townships, Captain, William Huston; First Lieutenant, William Elliott; Second Lieutenant, James McFarland; Ensign, Robert Kyle. It was on the occasion of this Company starting for the field that Dr. King made his stirring patriotic address before accompanying it as Chaplain. William Smith, Jr., the founder of Mercersburg, was a lieutenant in this Company and Captain in 1780. Captain John Marshall, Joseph Mitchell, James Morrison, Walter McKinney, James Smith, James Herod, William McDowell, Sr., Robert McCoy, Samuel Patton, William Waddell, Robert McFarland, and Jonathan Smith are given as soldiers in this war. William, James and David Rankin, three brothers, and Jeremiah, a son of James, all enrolled in Captain Huston's Company.

In the above list of men given as soldiers in the Revolutionary War first appears the name of James Herrod, who subsequently emigrated to Kentucky, and who founded and after whom was named the town or village of Harrodsburg, in that State. That this James Harrod came from Mercersburg is clear

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from an old ledger kept by one of the earliest storekeepers in Mercersburg, and still in existence, which contains an entry, as follows:

"Col. James Herrod, Land to be taken up for my use on Cain Tuskee or Cumberland River, or where the Colonel pleaseth, it being situate for trade."

Military spirit ran high in this valley during the Revolution, as it did in the early days when the pioneers had organized themselves into a militia as their only safeguard. After this War the Assembly enacted laws for the regular organization of the militia and appointed officers to take charge and hold regular encampments and muster days. These muster days were great annual events in the country and were continued for many years.

In 1812, even before the formal declaration of war was proclaimed by the President, the Mercersburg Rifles, numbering seventy-two officers and men, under Captain James McDowell, tendered their services to Governor Simon Snyder as part of any quota of troops that might be called from Pennsylvania. The Mercersburg Rifles left in September, 1812, under Captain Patrick Hays. They were part of the first detachment to leave the county.

In 1814, a troop of cavalry from Mercersburg, under Captain Matthew Patton, went to Baltimore but were not accepted, as cavalry were not needed. The majority of the men, determined to go to the war, disposed of their horses and joined the infantry. Another company, under Captain Thomas Bard, left here in September, 1814.

The people of Mercersburg have ever been wont to pride themselves on their love of education. There is just cause for this, for as early as 1762 we find that the first classical school within the bounds of this county was established in the Conococheague settlement. The teacher, Mr. John King—afterward Rev. John King—gives this brief account of it: "After this, my father not judging that he could bear the expense of sending me to college immediately, I came to West Conococheague in Cumberland County, where I spent almost three years in teaching school, during which time I instructed some boys in the Latin language. The Indian war increasing in 1763, my sister that lived there being killed by the Indians and the school declining, I quitted this part and returned to Little Britain, Lancaster Co." This school-house, built of logs, was situated near the first church, known as Steele's meeting house or fort, at Churchill, and when Dr. King returned here later as the pastor he seems to have continued the school. This Latin school had a high reputation in the community.

After Mercersburg was founded there is little definite information in regard to schools, but everything seems to centre in the "Old Stone Academy." When and by whom this was built is not known. The oldest inhabitants of today remember it in their youth and recall that their parents spoke of it as the Old Stone Academy, so it would seem to have always been old. The building was a two-story stone structure, and stood on the grounds of the Presbyterian church,

near where the parsonage now stands. Ex-President James Buchanan, in his autobiography, gives the following: "After having received a tolerably good English education, I studied the Latin and Greek language at a school in Mercersburg. It was kept by the Rev. James K. Sharon, then a student of divinity with Dr. John King, and afterward by a Mr. McConnell and Dr. Jesse Magaw, then a student of medicine." As Mr. Buchanan entered Dickinson College in 1807, it must have been before that date he attended school in the old stone academy. The earliest school-house used for what is termed the "common school" system, was a one-story brick building, also on the Presbyterian grounds. It stood facing Park street, almost exactly opposite the present blacksmith shop. This house was built by general subscription, the Presbyterian congregation giving the use of their grounds on condition that they be permitted to store their fire wood in the cellar. Some of the teachers of this school were Samuel Bradley, Jacob Hassler, James Williamson, John D. Crilly and Miss Sarah Andrews. The basement of the Methodist church was used at various times for school purposes. As early as 1841 it was kept by a Mrs. Harris and her daughter, later by John D. Crilly and others.

The old Stone Academy in its decrepit age opened its doors to yet another school and became the first home in Mercersburg of what afterwards became Marshall College. It was regarded as a stroke of genius that the Rev. Jacob Mayer, pastor of the Reformed congregation, conceived the idea in 1834 of having the High School and Theological Seminary of that denomination, which were then located at York, removed to Mercersburg. This place was then a town of less than a thousand inhabitants, largely of Scotch-Irish descent, belonging to several branches of the Presbyterian church. The West Conococheague had been settled by the Scotch-Irish originally, the agents of the Proprietors being instructed to induce the Scotch-Irish to locate in the Kittochtinny valley, while the German immigrants were sent to York County, thereby hoping to avoid the troubles that had been experienced in some of the eastern counties. It was not long, however, until the Germans appeared in this valley, as is shown by the census of 1790. By 1834 there were both Reformed and Lutheran congregations of strength and influence in this town. In bringing the High School and Seminary here, not only the Reformed Church, but Seceders, Presbyterians, Lutherans, and Methodists were equally enthusiastic. A subscription of \$10,000 was raised and other substantial inducements were offered, one of these being the old stone academy. Proposals from Chambersburg and Lancaster were offered "but this from Mercersburg, involving no conditions that might lead to difficulty or misunderstanding, was regarded as the best," so the offer was accepted. The members of the Board of Trustees from this town were Daniel Shaffer, William McKinstry, Elliott T. Lane, Dr. P. W. Little, William Dick, and William Metcalfe.



CASEY'S KNOB AND TWO-TOP, MERCERSBURG, PENNSYLVANIA



ONE OF THE MANY BEAUTIFUL STONE BRIDGES THAT SPAN CONOCOHEAGUE CREEK,
MERCERSBURG, PENNSYLVANIA

OLD MERCERSBURG

The High School was removed from York in 1835. On a beautiful November day in that year, the students arrived in Mercersburg by stage, fourteen of them in two stages. The faculty consisted of Dr. Rauch and Prof. Budd. The school was received with great kindness by the people, but the removal had been premature, as the old academy needed extensive repairs and for awhile the school occupied a frame building near the Diamond. This building, after the organization of the college, was for some years occupied by the preparatory department. The houses for the professors were not ready, and during the first winter the school suffered many privations. Notwithstanding these drawbacks the number of students steadily increased. On March 31, 1836, Governor Joseph Ritner signed the charter of Marshall College, and the Legislature added an appropriation to the endowment of the new institution. It was named Marshall College "in testimony of respect for the exalted character, great worth and high mental attainments of the late John Marshall, Chief Justice of the United States."

The same summer (1836) the Seminary building was erected, and one of the professor's houses. The next year the other house was built. Dr. Rauch superintended the work, while the building committee consisted of John Smith, George Besore, Daniel Shaffer and James O. Carson. Two of them were Reformed elders, one a Lutheran, and the fourth a Seceder. The grounds on which the building stood originally consisted of four acres, which were purchased from Mr. William McKinstry for \$500, the amount of his subscription. Mr. Jacob Hassler, Sr., was another of the four who subscribed \$500 each.

This building soon became overcrowded by the seminary and college and the students were compelled to take lodgings wherever they could find them. In 1838 the Board resolved to build a suitable building for the college on a tract of land at the southern end of the village, which had been purchased from Mrs. Brownson for \$1,000. No one doubted that the college building would soon be erected, but the claims of the Preparatory Department were pressing and came first. It still occupied the frame building in the town (this was destroyed by fire in 1841), which was inadequate to its needs, so it was deemed advisable to erect the preparatory building first. In 1844 and 1845 the two beautiful halls of the Diognothian and Goethean Societies were erected. These were alike externally, built in the classic style with a portico supported by six Ionic columns and so situated that the proposed college building could be erected between them. This would have been imposing had the plan been completed, but the college suffered many financial embarrassments. At one time, in 1841, to save the school from loss, the trustees were compelled to purchase the Mansion House. The combination of college, seminary and hotel aroused much amusement, but the trustees bravely held the hotel till 1845, when Colonel John Murphy bought it. In this year the King of Prussia donated 1,500 German thalers to Marshall College.

The number of students in 1845 was 204, an increase of nearly fifty over the year before. The following year Prof. Samuel Budd, after a short illness, died. A Princeton graduate of high standing, he impressed upon the High School a collegiate character, so that when the change was made to Marshall College, there was no difficulty in arranging the students into college classes.

When necessity prompted the union of Marshall College with Franklin College, located at Lancaster, the citizens of Mercersburg objected most vigorously. An indignation meeting was held in the Methodist church, at which the people protested against the violation of plighted faith involved in the proposed removal. They even agreed to resort to law if necessary to prevent it. The accusation of "violation of plighted faith" was disposed of satisfactorily to the Synod, at least, and the college was removed to Lancaster in 1853.

The feeling in this community was nevertheless sectarian in regard to Marshall College, and this is well shown by the order of proceedings on commencement day, which was a great day for Marshall College and the whole town took part in it. During the early years the commencement exercises were held in the Presbyterian church, it being the largest for the purpose, and the following was the order usually observed: The procession was formed at the Reformed Church and proceeded through Main Street to the Presbyterian Church. First came the brass band, then the trustees, the faculty, and the orator of the preceding day, the graduates, the clergy, physicians, borough council, undergraduates and the citizens and visitors.

Marshall College had a separate existence of only seventeen years, but though its life was brief and much troubled by financial problems, it was strong intellectually, and it left its stamp on the community as well as on its students. Under the leadership of Dr. Rauch it evolved a system of philosophy which later, under the seminary, developed into the doctrinal system known as Mercersburg Theology.

In 1848 the *Mercersburg Review*, a quarterly publication, was established here; it is continued to the present day under the name of the Reformed Church *Review*.

The Theological Seminary remained here until 1871, when it, too, was taken to Lancaster. It is interesting to note that the last class to leave the seminary went out of town on the first passenger train to Chambersburg.

After the removal of Marshall College, the Preparatory Department, under Revs. Samuel Wagner and Clement Weiser, continued for two years longer, and then followed the college to Lancaster. A private school was then opened under Rev. John Kookan. When Mr. Kookan left, in 1857, the citizens of Mercersburg formed a stock company, under the name of Mercersburg (sometimes Marshall) Collegiate Institute. The principal of this school in 1860 was Rev. Joseph Loose,

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who was followed in 1862 by A. A. Kemble. Mr. Kemble died in 1863 and was succeeded by his daughters. The last to lease the school was Charles Fisher.

In October, 1865, the property was bought by the Classis of the German Reformed Church, and the Collegiate Institute developed into Mercersburg College. The chartering of this college was largely due to the efforts of Dr. Henry Harbaugh, president of the Theological Seminary.

The education of the girls of Mercersburg was not neglected. Mrs. Young's Select School for Girls, which had been located at York, followed in the wake of the high school and seminary and removed to Mercersburg. Mrs. Young's sisters, Mrs. Dr. Rauch and Mrs. Traill Green, were at different times identified with the school, which was called Locust Grove. In 1848 the principals of the school, E. Dean and Susanna Dow, advertised this in the town paper: "This institution is pleasantly situated in a retired part of the village of Mercersburg." The principal in 1850 was A. F. Gilbert, and in 1857 this advertisement of J. E. Alexander is found, "building has lately been repaired. Boarding, Fuel, Light, Room, Furniture, and Tuition per year, \$130. Music, French and Drawing (extra)." This institute, or female seminary as it was later called, was the property at the north end of town now owned by Mrs. Johnson Rankin. It was used for school purposes until about 1880, when it became a private residence.

When the public schools were opened, all the children living north of the Run were obliged to attend school in their own township (Peters). The school was a small brick building and stood on the left side of the pike on the way to the Gap. There are yet living men and women who received their early education at this little brick school-house, which has long ago disappeared.

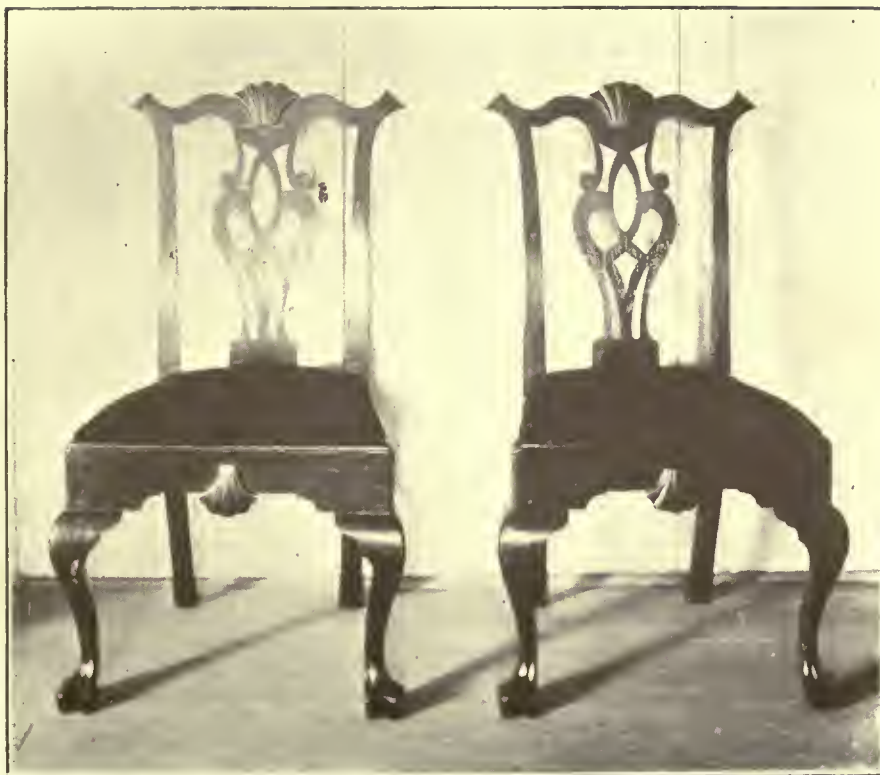
Mercersburg has been the home of many good and brave and able men and women, and some of these have achieved fame. It is fitting to give here some account of a few, at least, of the latter.

In the Parish Register of the little country church at Pitsligo, Aberdeenshire, Scotland, there are the following entries: "June 9th, 1723, this Lord's day, Mr. William Mercer, the Mistress Anne Munroe, were proclaimed for the third time." Their marriage followed in the same month. Then: "January 17th, 1726, the Reverent Mr. William Mercer, and Mrs. Anne Munroe his wife, had a son baptised named Hugh."

In view of the above entries, I must take issue with such of his biographers as give the year 1721 as the date of the birth of my great-grandfather, Hugh Mercer. More accurate history should place it in the year 1725.

Descended, on his paternal side, from a long line of ministers of the Church of Scotland, dating from about 1650, it was doubtless both from inheritance and training that Hugh Mercer was so thoroughly imbued with those sterling virtues of truth, a high sense of honor, loyalty, and devotion to duty, which made him the good and great man he was afterwards to become. According

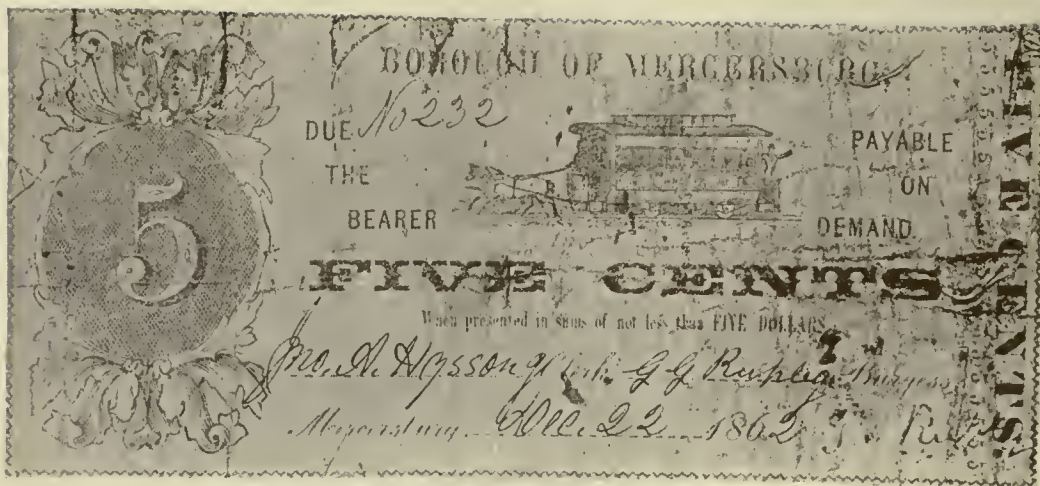
to our family tradition he was a man of modest, gentle, unassuming nature, content to do his duty faithfully as he saw it, without any undue regard either to the praise or blame of others; and he would, no doubt, in his early years have been very much surprised had it been foretold of him how prominent a part he was destined to play in after-life, in the history of his adopted country. Hugh Mercer became a student of medicine at Marischal College in 1740, and we next hear of him as an assistant surgeon in the army of "Bonnie Prince Charlie" in 1746, in that ill-fated attempt to place him on the throne of his fathers. The Scotch, especially those from the Highlands, were always loyal to the House of Stuart, and Mercer, no doubt convinced of the justice of the cause, and with all his martial and patriotic spirit stirred to the depths, hastened to "link his fortune and his fate" to the cause of the Pretender. This was all the more to be expected as he had fighting blood in his veins, his maternal grandfather being Sir Robert Monroe, who fought with distinction in the British Army on the Continent, at Fontenoy and elsewhere. He was ordered home to oppose the Young Pretender, and was killed while in command at the battle of Falkirk in 1746. We do not know whether his grandson, Hugh Mercer, was his opponent on that bloody field, but we do know that he was certainly at the battle of Culoden, where Prince Charlie's army was completely crushed, and the Stuart cause lost forever. "In his flight the Pretender was like a hare hunted by hounds. Flora MacDonald, a Scottish maiden, foiled his pursuers; and at length he reached France in safety. His loyal and loving followers found refuge in any way possible, hunted down and mercilessly butchered when caught. The terrible tragedy of the battle was as nothing compared to the butchery of these fugitives by the relentless and implacable Duke of Cumberland, a name made infamous by his treatment of a fallen foe." After remaining in hiding for a time, Hugh Mercer managed to escape the vigilance of his enemies, and in the fall of the year 1746, embarked at Leith for America, landing a few weeks afterwards at Philadelphia. He remained but a short time in that city, however, and then made his first attempt to establish a home, on the western border of the State of Pennsylvania, at a place then described as "near Greencastle," but now, since named in his honor, known to all the country as Mercersburg. Here he settled down to the practice of his profession—a varied experience in those Colonial times on the frontier of civilization, requiring high qualities of endurance, patience, skill and courage. It is believed that Mercer's services as a physician and surgeon covered the whole Conococheague Settlement, embracing the entire district between Chambersburg and his own residence; and young as he was at that time, he was well known to all the inhabitants of the region round about, loved and welcomed everywhere, and looked up to as one who not only healed the sick, but who strengthened the weak, comforted the weary, and cheered the sorrowing. It was a splendid preparation for the hardships and privations he was in future



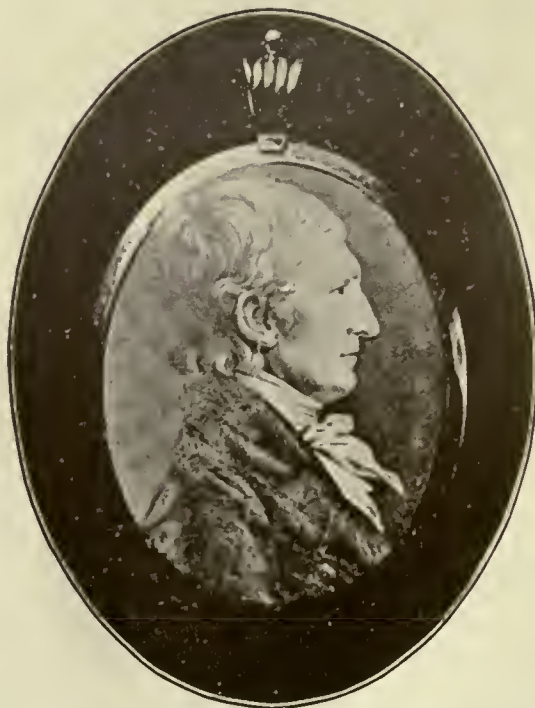
OLD CHIPPENDALE CHAIRS

In the possession of Trinity Reformed Church, Mercersburg, Pennsylvania

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NOTE ISSUED BY THE BOROUGH OF MERCERSBURG, 1862



JOHN McDOWELL, LL. D.

A scholar son of Mercersburg, 1751-1820. First President of St. John's College, Annapolis, Maryland, 1790, he later became Professor of Natural Philosophy at the University of Pennsylvania, and its third Provost.

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called upon to endure—"A life of hardship well done, and consecrated by self-sacrifice." But Dr. Mercer was not to be allowed to lead his chosen life for a very long period among those peaceful scenes in that beautiful part of the State of Pennsylvania. After Braddock's disastrous defeat by the French and Indians in his attempt to capture Fort Duquesne in the year 1755, the Indians, emboldened by success, became more and more troublesome, and in self-defense the colonists formed themselves into companies of Rangers, of one of which Dr. Mercer was made Captain. His commission is dated March, 1756, and his territory extended to the Welsh Run district and Mercersburg into the remote regions among the foothills, with headquarters at McDowell's Fort, now Bridgeport. In one of his Indian fights he was severely wounded, and having been left behind by his retreating companions, he narrowly escaped with his life. Closely pursued by the savages, he providentially found a place of safety in the hollow trunk of a tree around which the Indians rested, and discussed the prospect of scalping him in the near future. When they had taken their departure, Mercer struck out in another direction, and completely outwitted them. Sick with his wounds, and worn out with his struggles, he began a lonely march of one hundred miles, but finally succeeded in joining the remnant of his command at Fort Cumberland. To sustain existence while on this wearisome march, he was compelled to live upon roots and herbs, the carcass of a rattlesnake proving his most nourishing meal. Hugh Mercer was with the force that surprised and destroyed the Indian village of Kittanning in 1756, but was severely wounded in that encounter, and once more counted among the missing. For the second time he had to use all his wits to maneuver and march through the forest, half famished and faint from the lack of food, until he succeeded in joining his surviving companions. Such energy and bravery elicited the applause of all who knew his experiences, and in appreciation of his services and sufferings, the Corporation of Philadelphia presented him with a vote of thanks, and a beautiful memorial medal.

In the summer of 1757 Mercer was made commander of the garrison in the fort at Shippensburg, and in December of the same year was appointed major of the forces of the Province of Pennsylvania, posted west of the Susquehanna. In the following year he was in command of a part of the expedition of General Forbes against Fort Duquesne; and it was on this memorable march that he first met George Washington, then a Brigadier-General of Virginia troops. A strong attachment soon sprang up between these two men, which lasted as long as Mercer lived, and as a result of that attachment, on the advice and at the suggestion of Washington, Virginia became the home of Hugh Mercer, and Mercersburg lost a good and valued citizen.

After the conclusion of the French and Indian War, and the evacuation of the forts by their French garrisons, Mercer, who had been promoted to the

rank of Colonel, retired from military life, and moving to Fredericksburg, Virginia, again commenced the practice of his profession as a physician. "At this time, although thinly settled, this part of Virginia contained the homes of many of the most distinguished families on the Continent. They gave Mercer the cordial welcome to which his education and talents entitled him, reinforced by his brilliant career as a military man, and supplemented by the brotherly love and many favors shown him by General Washington."

Life in the quiet little town of Fredericksburg during the next few years was uneventful; the only matter of interest being Mercer's marriage to Isabella Gordon, the daughter of a prominent Virginia family, and a sister of the lady who married George Weedon, a major-general in the War of the Revolution. At his death General Weedon left his property, "The Sentry Box," to Hugh Mercer, second, who was an infant at the time of his father's death at the Battle of Princeton.

In 1775 Dr. Mercer's quiet life was again to be interrupted by political troubles. "Ominous clouds were gathering in the Colonial sky, and the perilous situation was quickly and fully realized by the patriotic Virginians. When the general British order went forth to seize all military stores in the Colonies, the Americans made prompt resistance without further parleying. Massachusetts was speedily followed by Virginia; and in almost the first important item we find that Dr. Hugh Mercer was drilling a partially organized body of Virginia men to be ready for any emergency. They did not have long to wait, and when "the next gale from the North brought the clash of resounding arms, the patriots of Virginia commenced organizing for immediate fighting."

In March, 1775, the Virginia Convention assembled in St. John's Church, Richmond, where the eloquence of Patrick Henry and his splendid rallying cry of "Liberty or death," stirred all hearts to decision and action. Mercer, with his customary modesty, made to the Convention his simple proffer of service in the expressive words, "Hugh Mercer will serve his adopted country, and the cause of Liberty, in any rank or station to which he may be assigned." Noble words, these, which found their echo in what he said later, "We are not engaged in a war of ambition, or I should not have been here. Every man should be content to serve in that station in which he can be most useful. For my part I have but one object in view, and that is the success of the cause; and God can witness how cheerfully I would lay down my life to secure it." After some balloting and discussion, to Mercer was assigned the Colonelcy of the Third Regiment of Virginia, but Congress having adopted the Virginia troops as a part of the Continental Army, Mercer was not long permitted to remain a Colonel, but on the urgent recommendation of Washington was made a Brigadier-General. His commission is dated June 5, 1776, and his assignment with "the Army around New York."

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The friendship between Washington and Mercer continued warm and unabated, and there is every reason to believe that the latter was often consulted upon military matters by his great Chief. It is stated on good authority that the idea of attacking the British army at Trenton originated with Mercer, and he is also credited with the plan of the Battle of Princeton. This was a most daring venture, for our little army was struggling against tremendous odds, and a single break in the American calculations meant untold disaster. "All went well through the night, but in the early hours of the 3d of January, 1777, the American troops were surprised by the Seventeenth British Regiment under Colonel Mawhood. General Mercer was on a fine gray horse, occupying the post of honor in the front, and at the first volley from the enemy his horse was brought down, and his most trusted lieutenant, Colonel Hazlett, killed. The British troops charged after the third volley, and the Colonists were driven back in disorder before a bayonet charge, by a force vastly superior in numbers." Mercer was unable to extricate himself from his fallen horse in time to defend himself at once, and at that instant he was surrounded by a detachment of the enemy, who thought from his prominent position in the front that they had captured the "rebel General Washington." They demanded his surrender, but with too reckless courage he refused, and sought to fight his way out with his sword, when he was struck from behind by a blow with the butt end of a musket, and was knocked down, receiving while he lay helpless no less than seven bayonet wounds in his body, in addition to two wounds in the head. As soon after the battle as possible General Mercer was moved to an adjacent farm house owned by Mr. Clark, where he was tenderly cared for by Mrs. Clark and her daughter; and for a time his recovery was hoped for in spite of the intense pain from his wounds and the great loss of blood. Everything that medical skill could accomplish was done to alleviate his suffering, and to save the life of this brave and gallant man, but nine days after the battle he expired in the arms of Major George Lewis, who had been sent by his uncle, General Washington, to minister to the wants of the dying hero. General Mercer died as he had lived, bravely and calmly sinking into his well earned rest. "What is to be, is to be! Good-bye, dear native land! Farewell, adopted country! I have done my best for you! Into thy care, O America, I commit my fatherless family! May God prosper our righteous cause! Amen!"

James Buchanan, the fifteenth President of the United States, was the second child of James Buchanan, a native of County Donegal, Ireland. In 1783 when twenty-three years old, the elder Buchanan came to Philadelphia; and after a few months became a clerk in the store of John Toms at Stony Batter, at the foot of the North Mountain, near Mercersburg. Five years afterward he was in business for himself at the same place. He was a shrewd business man, with a good English education and a knowledge of men that kept him from being

deceived in his trading. His place of business was a good one, and he prospered from the first. Here people from "the West" brought their varied products to exchange for salt, cloth, and many other things that older communities could furnish for their needs. These articles were brought on wagons from Baltimore, and after the exchange at Buchanan's place were put on pack horses for the trip over the mountains.

In 1788 the young merchant married Elizabeth Speer, whose home was at the foot of the South Mountain, between Chambersburg and Gettysburg, and for eight years they lived at Stony Batter. At this place, April 23, 1791, the future President was born, and here he spent the first five years of his life.

In the autumn of 1796 the family removed to Mercersburg, where, two years later, the father started a store. This business, like the former venture at Stony Batter, prospered greatly, and continued to increase until the merchant's death, in 1821.

After James, the younger, had received a fair English education, probably from his mother, he attended a school in Mercersburg, where he was taught Latin and Greek. The first teacher was a student of divinity under the Rev. John King, named James R. Sharon, the next, Mr. McConnell, and after him Dr. Jesse Magaw, who later married young Buchanan's sister.

In the fall of 1807 the young student was sent to Dickinson College. The school, he tells us, was without discipline and he soon fell into the mischievous ways that prevailed among the student body; but being naturally a hard student, he kept up his college work. However, he tells of an incident that occurred during the vacation of September, 1808, that made a lasting impression upon him. While sitting with his father on a Sabbath morning his father opened a letter just received, read it, and with downcast look handed it to the son, and left the room. The letter was from Dr. Davidson, Principal of Dickinson College, and stated that, but for the respect they had for the father, they would have expelled his son James. Having endured to the end of the term, they could not receive him again, and wrote to the father to save him the mortification of having the son sent back.

Young James was greatly mortified, but soon resolved upon what to do. He betook himself to the great spiritual leader of the community, the Rev. John King, trustee of Dickinson, and a man of great influence in the county. Dr. King lectured the boy gently, and on condition that he give his word to behave better at college, promised to intercede for him. As a result, young Buchanan returned to college and applied himself with such diligence that he was put forward by his Society as a sure winner of the first of two honors granted by the school. He, however, believed that his Society was entitled to both honors, and had another candidate from his Society put up with him.

But the authorities gave first honor to his opponents and second to his col-



JAMES BUCHANAN, FIFTEENTH PRESIDENT OF
THE UNITED STATES
From a portrait painted in 1831 by his sister,
Jane (Buchanan) Lane

1385

1387



WHERE BUCHANAN WAS BORN
Stony Batter, near Mercersburg, Pennsylvania.



THE ARCHED HALL-WAY IN THE HOME OF
HARRIET LANE, NIECE OF PRESIDENT BUCH-
ANAN AND "FIRST LADY OF THE LAND" DUR-
IN HIS ADMINISTRATION



VIEW FROM LITTLE COVE ROAD, MERCERSBURG

Looking north from a rifle pit made during the Civil War, and showing the birthplace of President Buchanan, marked by a monument



WOODS NEAR BUCHANAN'S EARLY HOME

league, leaving Buchanan out entirely. They gave, as the reason for their action, that it would have a bad effect to give an honor to a student that had shown so little regard for the rules of the school as young Buchanan had shown. This so incensed his friends that they were willing to refuse to take part in the commencement exercises; but he would not allow them to do so. In fact, after receiving a kind letter from the faculty, he himself took part.

Of course, the father was given the son's side of the affair; and his letter is here given for its local association and as a human document.

"Dear Son:

"Mercersburg, September 6, 1809.

"Yours is at hand (though without date) which mortifies us very much for your disappointment, in being deprived of both honors of the college, especially when your prospect was so fair for one of them, and more so when it was done by the professors who are acknowledged by the world to be the best judges of the talents and merits of the several students under their care. I am not disposed to censure your conduct in being ambitious to have the first honors of the college; but as it was thought that Mr. F. and yourself were best entitled to them, you and he ought to have compounded the matter so as to have left it to the disposition of your several societies, and been contented with their choice. The partiality you complain of in your professors is, no doubt, an unjust thing in them, and perhaps it has proceeded from some other cause than that which you are disposed to ascribe to them.

"Often when people have the greatest prospects of temporal honor and aggrandizement, they are blasted in a moment by a fatality connected with men and things; and no doubt the designs of Providence may be seen very conspicuously in our disappointments, in order to teach us our dependency on Him who knows all events, and they ought to humble our pride and self-sufficiency. . . . I think it was a very partial decision and calculated to hurt your feelings. Be that as it will, I hope you will have fortitude to surmount these things. Your great consolation is in yourself, and if you can say your right was taken from you by a partial spirit and given to those to whom it ought not to be given, you must for the present submit. The more you know of mankind, the more you will distrust them. It is said the knowledge of mankind and the distrust of them are reciprocally connected. . . .

"I approve of your conduct in being prepared with an oration, and if upon delivery it be good sense, well spoken, and your own composition, your audience will think well of it whether it be spoken first, or last or otherwise. . . .

"We anticipate the pleasure of seeing you shortly, when I hope all these little clouds will be dissipated.

"From your loving and affectionate father,

"JAMES BUCHANAN."

The young student returned to Mercersburg, where he remained until December, 1809, when he went to Lancaster to study law with Mr. Hopkins. Although always a diligent student, he describes this period of his life as the time when he studied hardest. He says: "I studied law, and nothing but law, or what was essentially connected with it. . . . I almost every evening took a lonely walk, and embodied the ideas I had acquired during the day in my own language." He was pleased with the law and with Lancaster; and was encouraged by his parent's letters not only to do his best in study, but to guard against all temptations.

He was admitted to the Bar in November, 1812. The second war with Great Britain had just started, and, naturally, his first political speeches were on questions arising from that struggle. At that time he was a Federalist, but his poise was such that neither partisan zeal nor prejudice carried him from the plain pathway of patriotic duty. In his papers he speaks of a letter received from his father in Mercersburg, in which the father tells of a strong Federalistic sermon preached by Rev. Mr. Eliot, September 12, 1812, who spoke of the war of a judgment,—for what sins the note does not say.

His first public speech to the people was made just after the British took Washington in 1814, at a meeting called to adopt measures to hurry volunteers to protect Baltimore. He was one of the first to enlist, and his company, under Major Charles Sterrett Ridgely, was the first of many from Pennsylvania for the defense of that city. He remained in Baltimore until honorably discharged.

In October, 1814, he was elected to the lower house of the Legislature. At this time Philadelphia was threatened, and the chief business of the Legislature was to provide for its defense. The question at issue was whether there should be a conscription law, or a business-like volunteer act. Buchanan urged that the patriotism of the people could be trusted to provide a defense when the volunteers were properly officered; and he gave the fighting on the Niagara frontier as proof. While the Senate and House were wrangling over the question, the news of peace arrived. So strongly had Buchanan urged a vigorous policy of defense that soon afterward William Beale, a shrewd and powerful Democratic Senator from Mifflin County, came to him and urged him, since he was a Democrat in all but name, to change his party name and to call himself a Democrat, predicting that if the young man did so, he would become President some time,—a prediction often made of promising young men, but seldom verified. But the young lawyer was not yet a Democrat in principles.

From his father at Mercersburg Buchanan received many letters at this time, in which the father feared his election to office had taken the son from his law studies and practice at the wrong time, hoped the young man would merit the approbation of his neighbors, and "above all to merit the esteem of heaven." February 24, 1815, the father wrote hoping that the Legislature would

repeal many war measures, and says that that night Mercersburg will be illuminated "in consequence of peace."

Buchanan was returned to the Legislature October, 1815. Now, the great question was the suspension of specie payments. Buchanan was chosen leader of the minority against a proposed law to compel banks to pay specie for their notes, under penalty of losing their charters. In his argument he showed how the suspension of specie payments was brought about by perfectly natural causes, and that for the time the banks should not be disturbed. This debate is mentioned only because it was during this fight that Buchanan changed his views on the United States Bank, and became, to use his own words, "decidedly hostile" to it for the rest of his life.

At the end of the session of 1815-16 he left the Legislature to take up his law practice again; but he was not destined to remain long out of the public eye. Judge Franklin, of his district, had made a ruling regarding the status of militia taken into the service of the United States. The Supreme Court of the United States afterward ruled differently, and in the political excitement of the time Judge Franklin was tried for impeachment. Buchanan, now in his twenty-sixth year, defended him in an address that produced a most profound impression, and which secured the acquittal of the Judge.

About this time the young lawyer became engaged to Miss Anne C. Coleman, daughter of Robert Coleman, Esq., a wealthy resident of Lancaster. She is described as having been a singularly beautiful and attractive young woman. After the engagement had existed for some time, in the late summer of 1819, Miss Coleman wrote Buchanan saying that it was her desire that he release her from it, and, of course, he did so. On the 9th of December, while she was on a visit to Philadelphia, Miss Coleman suddenly died. She was buried a few days afterward in Lancaster. Her lover was heart-broken, and in a tender letter to the father, asking to see the body before burial, he hints that both she and himself have been victims of the malice of others. It is a shameful commentary on the methods of partisan politics of the time that this incident should have found its way into campaign documents, but such was the case. The estrangement of lovers has never been a strange or unusual occurrence; but the coming of death at such times, as in this case, makes a tragedy such as threw its shadow over Buchanan's long and useful career.

In 1820 he was sent to Congress as a Federalist. Federalism then meant opposition to the War of 1812, and had little in it that appealed to a young man twenty-nine years old, already a leader in his own community. In the same year Monroe was chosen President, almost unanimously, and the Federalist National party disappeared. New parties were soon to be formed on the questions of finance, internal improvements, and slavery.

He first took part in debate in January, 1822, on a bill making appropria-

tions for the Military Establishment. Opposition to the bill was really an attack on Calhoun, Secretary of War. Buchanan defended the Secretary, and was answered sharply by John Randolph, of Roanoke. For a new member he took part in many discussions, his views being conservative rather than radical.

In 1824 he supported Andrew Jackson, and first met the General when sent to ask him, during the struggle over the election in the House, whether he had said that, if elected, he would make Clay Secretary of State. Jackson assured him he had made no such promise. After the House chose John Quincy Adams, Buchanan, then on a visit to his mother in Mercersburg, wrote a letter to the General deploring the outcome of the election in the House and assuring Jackson of the loyalty of his many friends in Pennsylvania. In the bitter strife that followed the election Buchanan became one of the anti-Adams leaders in the House. Another future President, James K. Polk, was also a leader against Adams.

On the 11th of April, 1826, Mr. Buchanan made a speech on the constitutional position of the House in appropriating money to defray the expense of a Panama Commission that brought from Mr. Webster the compliment that "The gentleman from Pennsylvania has placed the question in a point of view which cannot be improved." In the long and varied discussion of this question he also made his first declaration in Congress on the slavery question. He denounced it as a great political and moral evil, thanked God that he had been reared where it did not exist, but stated that if slaves were freed at that time, in many parts of the South, they would rise against their masters and that for the defense of the chivalrous southern race from servile rebellion he would gladly shoulder his knapsack. In his tariff debates he was clear and convincing, and stood for a moderate tariff in the interest of the whole country, rather than of a single section. Though an opponent of Adams, he gladly supported projects for "Internal Improvements."

In 1828 Mr. Buchanan was one of the most influential Jackson leaders in Pennsylvania, which gave the General her twenty-eight votes. He was returned to Congress, where he became Chairman of the Judiciary Committee. His work on this committee was dignified and able; and some of his speeches on the various questions may still be read with profit. He intended to retire from public life at the end of this session. His experiences in Congress had given him valuable training in constitutional law, and as his professional income was dwindling, he desired to return to his practice. But it was not so to be.

In the summer of 1831 President Jackson appointed him Minister to Russia, the appointment being confirmed early in January, 1832. In March he left Lancaster by stage for Washington by way of Baltimore; and on the 8th of April he set sail from New York for Liverpool, which place he reached after a voyage of twenty-five days. The pilot who came on board gave the passen-



THE OLD SPRING AT BUCHANAN'S BIRTHPLACE



MONUMENT AT STONY BATTER, MARKING THE BIRTHPLACE
OF JAMES BUCHANAN

gers the welcome news that Liverpool had no cholera, but that it was raging in Cork and Dublin. After he was shown about the city, he left by *railroad* for Manchester. He notes the fact that the run from Liverpool to Manchester, thirty miles, was made in one hour and thirty minutes. This was over the first stretch of railroad in England. Arriving in London, he wrote a long letter to his brother, Rev. Edward Y. Buchanan, in which he tells of the show places he visited and speaks with due reverence of Oxford Cathedral and Westminster Abbey; but says that as "places of worship, however, they must be very damp and uncomfortable." He also speaks of the troubles of King and Church over the Reform Bill agitation; and, like a good American, prefers the American churches to the English State Church system. He requests his brother to forward this letter to his mother at Mercersburg. From London he passed by packet to Hamburg, and from there overland to St. Petersburg.

Writing to Jackson June 22, 1832, he speaks of the cold climate, the short summer knight, the manner of building and heating houses; but adds that the objection an American feels to living in the country is not so much physical discomfort as the absence of a free press, due to what he calls "a calm despotism." Nicholas he describes as the kindest of despots, and says, "But still he is a despot." He speaks of the Empress as having referred in an interview to the troubles with some of the Southern States, and says that the people in Europe expect a revolution every time they receive news of such political troubles in America.

As minister to "the most formal court in Europe," he was compelled to do many things not to his democratic tastes. He writes: "Foreign ministers must drive a carriage and four with a postilion, and have a servant behind decked out in a more queer dress than our militia generals."

The chief object of his mission to Russia was to conclude a commercial treaty with that country. Russia still adhered to her policy of aloofness; but with wonderful skill for one of no previous diplomatic training, Mr. Buchanan set to work. Against him were all the leading men of the Court except Count Nesselrode, the chief statesman, who, as minister in 1814, had signed the agreement of the Powers that sent Napoleon to Elba. This great statesman and diplomat became a friend of Buchanan from the first, even giving him suggestions privately as to certain points in the American's proposals to the Russian government. But even with Nesselrode's help it was no easy task to overcome the opposition. It was with great satisfaction, therefore, the American minister learned from the Emperor at a levee in December that the treaty would be concluded. For this treaty Mr. Buchanan deserves all the more credit, because he was practically out of touch with his home government during the negotiations.

After the treaty was concluded, he was absent from St. Petersburg for about a month, spent mostly at Moscow. Soon after he returned to the capital,

on the 19th of July, he received the sad news that his mother had died, at the home of one of her daughters, at Greensburg, Pennsylvania, May 14, 1833. He had written a letter to his mother on July 3d, and as his work in Russia was almost done, he had great hope of seeing her once more. Mrs. Buchanan was buried in Waddell's graveyard, a few miles north of Mercersburg, where her grave and that of her husband may be seen marked with modest stones.

Mr. Buchanan arrived in America in November, 1833. In December, 1834, he was chosen United States Senator to succeed Mr. Wilkins, who succeeded him as Minister to Russia. He entered the Senate as a Jackson Democrat. The Senate at that time was hostile to the President, especially on the bank question. Webster and Clay led the majority against the President and Benton, Wright and King, the Jackson supporters. Of course, the first great party struggle came when the President removed the executive officers. Webster and others held that the constitutional right of the Senate in consenting to appointments applied also to removals. Mr. Buchanan refuted this in an able address; but all agree that his greatest Senate speech was made on the resolution to expunge from the record a resolution formally carried by Clay, condemning the President for unconstitutional acts in removing the public money from the United States Bank. Mr. Buchanan's speech is a strong condemnation of that purely partisan thrust of Clay's friends.

On the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia he held that, since the District had been carved from two slave-holding States, Congress had no constitutional right to abolish slavery there any more than it had the right to abolish it in the States themselves.

On the question of recognizing the independence of Texas, he said he would gladly vote in favor of doing so when Texas had won her independence.

As Mr. Buchanan had been the defender of Jackson's financial schemes, it became his task to meet the opposition of Webster to Van Buren's sub-treasury plan. Both men made powerful arguments from their respective points of view; and while the system has its opponents in our day, it has remained since Van Buren's time.

Mr. Buchanan had been re-elected Senator in 1837, and, therefore, was not affected politically by the Whig triumph of 1840. Only one man had previously served more than six years as Senator from Pennsylvania. He was elected for a third term as Senator; and as the election of 1844 was coming on, his friends urged his nomination as the Democratic candidate for President. But many of the delegates were pledged to Van Buren and the Pennsylvanian withdrew his name in the interest of harmony before the convention met. In a private letter he expressed the opinion that Van Buren would be nominated and defeated; but Polk was nominated and elected over Clay on the Texas question.

President Polk chose Buchanan as Secretary of State, the man best fitted

in his party for the place. The new Secretary was at once in the midst of the Oregon controversy and the Texas question. Had these questions not kept him in his office, he certainly would have been made a Justice of the Supreme Court. But he stuck to his post, though with longing eyes on the Bench. The country was safely steered through the Oregon difficulty, which many had believed would bring on a third war with Great Britain. Even the Mexican difficulty might have been settled amicably; but Mexico refused to receive our Minister Slidell, and war broke out on the Rio Grande. When, during the Mexican War, Great Britain made encroachments upon Central America, Mr. Buchanan had President Polk reassert the Monroe Doctrine in all its old-time vigor; but this course was not followed by their successors, and the affair ended in the disgraceful Clayton-Bulwer Treaty.

In 1850 the Whigs were in power and he had no part in the discussion of the "Great Compromise" in Congress; but in public addresses and by his pen he urged its passage, and declared that the Fugitive Slave Law carried out the spirit of the Constitution.

At the convention of 1852 Mr. Buchanan and several others were each so strong that the nomination went to a younger and less well known man, Franklin Pierce. In this campaign Mr. Buchanan's chief service to his party was a long and effective speech delivered at Greensburg against General Scott.

President Pierce made Mr. Buchanan Minister to England, and he left New York for his post August 1, 1853, reaching Liverpool on the 17th. When Parliament opened in 1854, there occurred the "Court Dress Episode." Secretary Marcy had issued an order that American diplomats should appear in the "plain dress of American citizens." The Master of Ceremonies issued a statement that when the Queen opened Parliament, the diplomats should wear court dress. Consequently, the American Minister was absent at the great ceremony; and this caused much comment in the papers. The Queen soon held her first levee, and Mr. Buchanan informed the Master of Ceremonies that he would appear in the dress he always wore with the addition of a small black dress sword. Though he knew he would be received in any dress he chose to wear, he did not expect the very cordial reception he received.

As minister he had to deal with Central American problems and the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. Owing to the condition of European politics, England was ready to fight somebody, and he expected Palmerston to assume a warlike attitude; yet, in a private letter to Marcy, Secretary of State, he announced his determination not to yield "one iota of our rights." The Crimean War brought up the question of rights of neutrals; and he handled it with the skill of the trained diplomat that he was, carefully avoiding all entangling alliances. The war, however, ended all further negotiations regarding the construction of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, and he asked to be recalled.

But whatever the vicissitudes of official life in London, his social life there was enjoyable. His niece, Miss Harriet Lane, had joined him in the spring of 1854, and her letters home are radiant with descriptions of receptions, personages, and costumes. While they were in London, Napoleon and Eugenie, then in the height of the glory that went out in the Franco-Prussian War, made their famous visit to London. Miss Lane returned to America in the autumn of 1855, and Mr. Buchanan in April, 1856, when he was accorded a most cordial reception.

Already the Democrats of his State were putting him forward for the Presidency, and at the convention at Cincinnati, without any organized effort on the part of his friends, he was easily nominated without pledge or promise. In the election that followed he carried the slave States, with the exception of Maryland; and of the Northern States, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Indiana, Illinois, and California.

The history of the administration of Mr. Buchanan is not within the province of this paper. The first three years of it were spent in trying to allay the bitterness engendered by many years of political strife, while the last months were spent in dealing with one of those crises which are beyond human guidance; but which themselves move men as pawns. By his enemies his administration has been bitterly attacked; and it has been most ably defended by his friends; but he himself never doubted that the ultimate judgment of his countrymen would do him justice. That he was right in this can be seen in our day; and the time is almost at hand when some historian, without partisan bias, or thought of the need of vindicating Mr. Buchanan, will write the straightforward history of those momentous years.

When his term of office expired, he retired to his estate, "The Wheatlands," which had been his home for many years. It is near the city of Lancaster and was purchased by him in December, 1848. Here, with no offices to give, he enjoyed the letters and companionship of his many true friends. Soon after his retirement he prepared a defense of his administration and had it published about 1865. He even planned a more elaborate work, an autobiography; but owing to the infirmities of old age this latter work was never completed. In the fall of 1861 he wrote a public letter urging all loyally to aid in the war "made inevitable by the Confederate attack."

He was a man of impressive appearance, over six feet tall, broad shouldered, and somewhat stout. His eyes were blue, one near, and one far-sighted, which caused a habitual inclination of the head to one side.

He was fond of the society of men and women, and was popular at social gatherings. Not a fluent public speaker, he was clear, forceful and convincing. In that Senate noted for its great men, he always commanded attention. His

OLD MERCERSBURG

personal integrity was beyond the pale of partisan accusation; and he was always ready to aid those in need.

Reared by pious parents, he was all his life a Christian man; but not until September 24, 1865, did he become a church member. On that day he united with the Presbyterian Church in Lancaster.

He died June 1, 1868, of rheumatic gout, and was buried at Lancaster June 4th. The funeral sermon was preached by his friend and spiritual advisor, John W. Nevin, D. D., President of Franklin and Marshall College.

Mr. Buchanan had inherited the business ability of his father, and he left an estate valued at \$300,000. Little of this, however, was from his salary as President; for, while in office, he insisted on paying many bills that Presidents do not usually pay. He also paid the expense of entertaining the Prince of Wales, although he was really a national guest.

The Buchanan home in Mercersburg was the lower part of what is now Hotel Mercer. The property was sold to J. O. Carson, and later came into the possession of the McAfee brothers, who refitted it to be used as the McAfee Hotel. Later, a third story was added, and after a few years the property was sold to its present owner, C. W. McLaughlin.

The Dunwoodie farm, in which the elder James Buchanan had taken so much interest, is situated about two miles east of Mercersburg on the West Conocheague Creek. In 1863, Jeremiah S. Black, without seeing the farm or sending any one to inspect it for him, purchased it from the ex-President for \$15,624. It is now called "Patchwork" and is owned by Miss Mary Black.

Eighty years ago there was born in the quaint old village of Mercersburg, a little girl, Harriet Rebecca Lane, the youngest child of Jane Buchanan and Elliott T. Lane.

Harriet Lane was of English ancestry on the side of her father, and Scotch-Irish on that of her mother. Her grandfather, James Buchanan, settled near Mercersburg, and in 1788 he married Elizabeth Speer, a woman of strong intellect and deep piety.

The eldest child of the marriage was James, the late ex-President. Jane Buchanan, the next child after James, his playmate in youth, his favorite sister through life, known as the most sprightly and agreeable of a family all gifted, was married in the year 1813 to Elliott T. Lane. Mr. Lane was a merchant, largely engaged in the lucrative trade at that time carried on between the East and the West, by the great highway that passed through Franklin County. Harriet spent the first years of her life in "Old Mercersburg" in the beautiful home built by her father, near the Town Square. Old citizens like Mr. John Hoch and Mr. Thomas Waddell, who were her schoolmates in childhood, have passed with her into the Great Beyond, and none are left of those who knew her here.

We are told she attended Mrs. Young's School, a merry, mischievous girl,

never so happy as when ringleader of school-girl pranks. "In all the counties of Southern Pennsylvania there was no comelier and more high-spirited maiden." Inheriting the vivacity of her mother, she overflowed with health and good humor. Her Uncle James, then in the prime of life, paid frequent visits to his family in Mercersburg, and the impression which his august presence and charming talk made upon little Harriet was deep and lasting. In 1839 Harriet was left motherless and, when, two years later, death again entered her home, taking her father from her, Harriet and her sister Mary were invited to become members of their Uncle James's home at Wheatland.

Here it was that Harriet Lane, in her early girlhood, helped to entertain the statesmen who were almost constantly the guests of her uncle. The following winter was passed under the care of two elderly maidens at Lancaster, famous for their strict sense of propriety; and her horror at finding herself installed in this pious household, must have been very amusing to Mr. Buchanan, who was never blind to the humorous side of things. He was in the Senate at the time, and Harriet poured out her soul to him in childish letters that complained of early hours, brown sugar in tea, restrictions in dress, 'stiff necks and cold hearts. She was solaced by fatherly letters from her uncle, to say nothing of pocketfuls of crackers and rock candy. At the age of twelve she was sent, with her sister, to a school in Charleston, Va., where they remained for three years. During this time Harriet made unusual progress in music, but the one great event during those three years was a visit to Bedford Springs, a glorious, never-forgotten time. Next came two years at the convent at Georgetown, a school celebrated for the elegant women who have been educated there. Once a month Miss Lane spent Saturday and Sunday with her uncle, in whose home she met such men as few young girls could appreciate.

He took pains, however, to restrain her youthful inclination to play the role of a belle at Washington. He was especially solicitous that she should not contract an early marriage, saying: "Never allow your affections to become interested, nor engage yourself to any person, without my previous advice. You ought never to marry any man to whom you are not attached; but you ought never to marry any person who is not able to afford you a decent and immediate support. In my experience I have witnessed the long years of patient misery and dependence which fine women have endured from rushing into matrimonial connections without sufficient reflection." It was not long before Harriet became a favorite among the young women of the national capital. Her sagacious uncle admonished her to keep her wits about her in the gay scenes she would find there, and always to be guarded against flattery. "Many a clever girl," he said, "has been spoiled for the useful purposes of life and rendered unhappy by a winter's gayety in Washington." But it was not until the winter of 1854 that she began to attract general attention among the brilliant belles of the Pierce administra-

tion, as she conspicuously did at the great ball which the Minister from Brazil gave in honor of the birthday of his imperial master.

When Mr. Buchanan was appointed by President Pierce as Minister to England, he was not accompanied by his niece, but she joined him some months later.

Her first appearance at a drawing-room was a memorable occasion, not only to the young American girl and her uncle, but to all who witnessed her graceful and dignified bearing at the time. For a girl who had never been outside her native land she carried herself through the ordeal with unusual tact and self-possession. Despite her uncle's disposition to simplicity and economy, and his constant cautions that she should make no attempts at "display," her fine appearance and her youthful animation enabled her soon to become a favorite.

The only time when the dress question seems to have disturbed her was when she had an invitation to dinner with the Queen while the court was in mourning, and found that she had no black dress in her wardrobe, and that it was necessary to get one at a day's notice. At the dinner Harriet thought that the Queen, who herself was also still a young woman, and who talked a good deal with her, was "most gracious," while Prince Albert was equally talkative to her uncle. "Everything, of course, was magnificent," she wrote to her sister. "There was gold in profusion, twelve candelabra, with four candles each. But you know I never can describe things of this sort. With mirrors and candles all around the room, and a band playing delicious music all the time, it was like fairyland in its magnificence."

At one of the "Drawing-Rooms" in Buckingham Palace the fair young American, attired in pink silk and tulle and apple blossoms, awakened general admiration among the courtiers. On her way home with her uncle he remarked: "Well, one would have supposed that you were a person of great beauty, to have heard the way you were talked of today. I was asked if we had many such handsome ladies in America. I answered yes, and," he went on to say, as if he felt it were his duty to sprinkle some cold water on the flattery, "many much handsomer. She would scarcely be remarked there for her beauty."

During her year's residence in London she enjoyed several marks of both royal and popular esteem. But not the least notable event in which she participated was when her uncle took her, one summer day in 1855, to Oxford, where he and Alfred Tennyson each received the degree of Doctor of Civil Laws. The poet, then in the prime of manhood, was hardly a more conspicuous figure in the august ceremony at the venerable seat of learning than the golden-haired American girl, whose appearance the English students welcomed with an outburst of cheers.

It was characteristic of her uncle that when she had returned to the United

States he wrote her: "Take care not to display any foreign airs or graces in society at home, nor descant on your intercourse with royal people, but your own good sense will teach you this lesson. I shall be happy, on my return, to learn that it has been truly said of you, 'She has not been a bit spoiled by her visit to England.'" Six months later, when he took his farewell audience, the Queen expressed a kind remembrance of her, and when he parted with the Marquis of Lansdowne that nobleman exclaimed enthusiastically: "If Miss Lane should have the kindness to remember me, do me the honor to lay me at her feet."

It was only a little more than a year afterward that Mr. Buchanan was called to the Presidency of the United States. His bachelorhood caused his niece to be noted with uncommon interest, but her season in England had given her complete confidence in herself. Indeed, since the time of Dolly Madison there had been few mistresses of the White House who had united to personal charm and popularity an understanding of the graces of social intercourse.

Harriet Lane went into the White House when only twenty-six years of age, with all the exuberance of health, and with a beauty of face and figure such as no young woman who had been its mistress had before shown. It was her destiny to be the only maiden that has ever reigned there during four years as its social queen. Her public advent into Washington in that role was at the Buchanan Inaugural Ball, which was held in a structure temporarily built for the purpose. Attired in a white dress with artificial flowers and a necklace of many strands of pearls around her neck, she was a picture of youthful freshness of spirit as she leaned upon the arm of her tall uncle and was escorted by General Jessup in full uniform. Indeed, almost from the beginning, the dinners and receptions at the White House, notwithstanding the President's desire not to have "too much fuss," gave her a reputation as a young woman of fine manners and strong sense.

She was very much the modern girl; but her generation was not educated up to her ideas, and the physical exuberance that would have made her a tennis expert and golf champion today subjected her to many a mild snub from her conservative guardian. Buchanan was fond of teasing her with the tale of how she challenged a young man to run a race, and beat him hopelessly—a most unfeminine proceeding. Secretly, he was immensely proud of her, but the times did not endorse such vigor.

Harriet Lane's position in the White House was more onerous, perhaps, than that of any one since Martha Washington, for Buchanan had many personal visitors in addition to his official ones. At the English court Miss Lane had added experience to her attainments, and was quite equal to anything her new position might offer, even to acting as hostess to the Prince of Wales. One of the entertainments provided for him was a visit to the tomb of Washington, where he did reverence most suitably, like the well-bred young prince he was.



JANE (IRWIN) HARRISON

The daughter of Archibald and Mary (Ramsey) Irwin, she became the wife of William Henry Harrison, Junior, and was mistress of the White House during the administration of the first President Harrison



IRWINTON MILLS, THE BIRTHPLACE OF JANE AND ELIZABETH
IRWIN



ELIZABETH IRWIN, MOTHER OF
PRESIDENT BENJAMIN HARRISON

On the way up the river to Washington Albert Edward danced with Harriet Lane on the deck of the steamer, and with other girls among her friends. This they all especially enjoyed because Mr. Buchanan would not permit dancing in the White House. The day closed with a sumptuous dinner at the house of Lord Lyons, the British Minister, with the Prince on one side, at the head of the table, and Harriet Lane on the other.

In person, in speech, in carriage and in manner Harriet Lane had the charm of a regal presence. She suggested to her countrymen the grand dame of European society more than had any of her predecessors. Her stature was a little above the average of her sex, her figure moulded in a noble cast, and her head firmly poised on neck and shoulders of queenly grace. On public occasions the air of authority in her deportment was such that Mr. Buchanan's political followers would sometimes enthusiastically hail her as "Our Democratic Queen," while his opponents would solemnly remind him that he would do well to restrain the spirit of royal manners in his household. Her blonde hair, her violet eyes, her fine complexion, and the contour of a face and expressive mouth on which the lines of character were strongly written, marked her at once as a woman of both charm and power. Her voice had the bright musical intonation of a wholesome nature; few English women could surpass her in athletic exercises, and no other "Lady of the White House" has since been so widely copied as a model in her toilettes.

It was said that the White House had never been gayer than on the final night of Miss Lane's public career as its mistress. All Washington had come to say farewell. The band played alternately "Yankee Doodle" and "Away Down South in Dixie." Hour after hour the crowd passed through the doors until it numbered more than four thousand. Dressed in pure white, the mistress of the mansion was greeted with effusive admiration, and by many, too, who believed that in looking upon her they saw the last woman who would grace the White House, and upon her uncle as its last President.

In the winter of 1866 Harriet Lane was married by her uncle, the Rev. Edward Young Buchanan, to Henry Elliott Johnston, of Baltimore, a union which proved ideally happy. Years later, Mr. and Mrs. Johnston brought their two sons to Mercersburg, that they might see the birthplace of their mother and her family; and always on her return to her native town Mrs. Johnston visited the old Waddell graveyard, where the bodies of her ancestors lie buried. That Mrs. Johnston had love for the home of her childhood was evidenced by the fact that she gave to Mercersburg Academy a portrait of her uncle, James Buchanan, and her last visit to the town was when that portrait was unveiled. When she died, in 1903, she willed that the Buchanan birthplace, land at Stony Batter, be purchased, and a monument erected thereon.

It was a strange irony of Fate that Harriet Lane, so "friended" in her early

life, should have lost both husband and sons, which left her to pass the evening of life in comparative loneliness, with only past glories and beautiful memories for companions.

Another of the notable women of Old Mercersburg was Elizabeth (Irwin) Harrison, mother of Benjamin Harrison, twenty-third President of the United States.

Archibald Irwin, son of Archibald and Jean McDowell Irwin, succeeded to the old Irwin homestead and the "Irwinton Mills" on the West Branch of the Conococheague. Both the dwelling house and the mill were built by his father. He married for his first wife Mary Ramsey, daughter of Major James Ramsey, who built the mill near Mercersburg, since known as Heister's. The elder of the two daughters by this marriage was Jane and the younger Elizabeth. Nancy Ramsey, a sister of their mother, married John Sutherland, an Englishman, who lived in Ohio, near the home of General William Henry Harrison, at North Bend. The Irwin girls visited their aunt, Mrs. Sutherland, in Ohio, when they met the sons of General Harrison, William Henry and John Scott Harrison. The result of these meetings was that William Henry Harrison, Jr., came to Irwinton Mills in 1824, to wed Jane Irwin. At that time her sister Elizabeth was only fourteen years old. Eight years later she married John Scott Harrison, in Ohio.

In 1889 Benjamin Harrison, the eldest son of Elizabeth Irwin Harrison, became President of the United States. Jane Irwin Harrison was mistress of the White House during the brief administration of the first President Harrison, in 1841. The fine old mansion, built of limestone, in which these two fortunate women, one of them the mother of a President, were born, is still standing, little changed from what it was at the beginning of the Nineteenth Century.

It is said that Jane was one of the most beautiful, as well as one of the most gracious, women who has ever presided over the White House. Of Elizabeth, we have this from the pen of her daughter: "In regard to my writing anything about our dear mother, I feel I could not do as well as some others, as I was only a child of eight or nine when she died. I remember her as an angel in our home, a devoted wife and mother. I have never heard any one speak of her in any other way. Our old nurse has frequently told me of her home life and her mild, yet always firm, control of her children. I remember her last visit to the old Mercersburg home—how her little ones missed her and the royal welcome she had on her return." She died many years before her son Benjamin became President of the United States.

An American Advisor to the Japanese Government

Timely Study of an American Who Helped to Make Japan a Modern Nation & General Horace Capron, Whose Great Work in Scientific Farming and Other Industries in the United States Led to His Appointment by the Tenno of Japan as Head of a Commission to Develop Agriculture in the Island Kingdom & His Introduction of American Methods, Implements, and Produce, Which Revolutionized the Farming and Labor World of That Country & A Benefactor to the Human Race Whose Efforts Enabled the Newly Awakened Japanese Nation to Substitute for the Work of Six Hundred Coolies a Single Labor-Saving Machine

BY

MRS. LOUISA KERWIN (CAPRON) THIERS

Sister of General Horace Capron



GENERAL HORACE CAPRON was a notable man of the past generation, whose high ideals, ability, and untiring energy were always for the betterment of conditions about him. Not only did he leave his impress on the manufacturing and industrial interests of our country, but also upon the productive interests the new regime of far-away Japan, for he was a pioneer in the development of that great nation in its adoption of our Western civilization. He was born in Providence, Rhode Island, August 31, 1814.

General Capron was of Revolutionary parentage. His father, Doctor Seth Capron, enlisted in the spring of 1781, and served through the war. He was for a long time attached to General Washington's headquarters in New York, and accompanied His Excellency through the parting scenes with the army. He commanded the barge which conveyed him to Elizabethtown Point in 1783, and was the last man of the army to receive his hand and parting benediction.

On the termination of the Revolution he returned to his home at Attleboro, Massachusetts, and resumed the study of medicine under Dr. Bezalell Mann, whose daughter he married. Later he immigrated to the State of New York, settling at Whitesborough, Oneida County. His practice embraced a circuit of over forty miles.

At this time he organized a company, composed of the most public-spirited men of that section of the State, and erected, in 1807, the first cotton factory that was ever put into operation in the State of New York, called the "Oneida factory." The next cotton factory erected was the "Capron factory," in the vicinity of New Hartford. Soon after another company was formed which erected the "Oriskany woolen factory," which is conceded by historians to be the first woolen mill ever constructed in the United States. This marks the time of the first importation of Merino sheep. Some were imported from Spain at fabulous prices. One thousand dollars each was paid for two bucks and six hundred apiece for many others.

A statement copied from the "Niles Register" of October 3, 1835, says: "To Dr. Capron is Oneida County indebted for much of that abundance she is now receiving from her splendid factories." It is not surprising that his son, Horace Capron, the subject of this sketch, brought up under such environments and with the inheritance of his father's tastes, as well as his strong traits of character, should have preferred the study of mechanical industry to a course at West Point.

In 1829, though still a mere youth, he was called to the superintendence of the Printing Cloth Works of James A. Buchanan, Esq., on the Gunpowder River, in Baltimore County, Maryland. When later these mills were almost entirely destroyed by fire, he accepted an offer to take charge of the "Savage factory," an establishment on the Little Patuxent River. His success in these enterprises brought him into prominence among men interested in manufactures.

In 1833-34, while the Baltimore and Washington Railroad was being constructed, a most disorderly and desperate set of laborers created a reign of terror throughout the whole surrounding country. Murders among themselves were of daily occurrence. The police of the neighborhood were set at defiance. Barns were fired, houses robbed, and persons attempting to aid the civil authorities in their efforts to avert the perpetration of these outrages were notified of their danger by finding the shape of a coffin on the walks in front of their houses. At last one of the principal contractors met his death at their hands, his body being found lying outside his house mangled almost beyond recognition. This roused the whole country. Mr. Capron undertook the responsibility of organizing a force to put an end to this shocking condition of things. He quietly despatched messengers to all the leading gentlemen for miles around to meet at his residence armed to the teeth. About six hundred responded to the call. Having ascertained the real culprits, their houses were surrounded, and the men were captured and carried away to jail. Quiet reigned for a time. For this act the Governor of the State honored him by an appointment on his staff as Major of the Thirty-second Regiment M. M.

The troubles did not end here. Soon it was discovered that several thousand

desperate men threatened destruction to the whole country. The Governor then called upon Mr. Capron to raise another volunteer force to which was added a troop of cavalry from Baltimore. Learning of these preparations, a large portion of these armed desperadoes, numbering about two thousand, were ready to resist any attempt to arrest one of their number, but they found the small force of two hundred were not to be trifled with and when the charge was made they broke for the swamps. Several hundred were captured. This ended the great railroad riots. Some new men came upon the work and a more peaceful neighborhood throughout the balance of the time could not be desired. For this act the Governor promoted Mr. Capron to a Colonel's commission, dated March 18, 1835.

In 1834 he married a daughter of Nicholas Snowden, of Prince George County, Maryland, and shortly after became interested in the extensive water power on the Patuxent River at Laurel, on the Washington branch of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, where in the course of a few years, under his administration, works were constructed for the manufacture of cotton fabrics which gave employment, in 1849, to a population of two thousand five hundred. This village contained two cotton mills, one foundry, one machine shop, three churches, a lyceum, an assembly room, a school with free privileges to all, and fifty blocks of two-story stone and brick houses with vegetable gardens in the rear and lawns and flowers in front. There was no grog shop and the sale of spirituous liquors was not permitted.

Quoting from one of the papers of that day is this statement: "We hazard nothing in saying that there is no community in our country where the obligations of honor, honesty and truth, and of religion and morality are more scrupulously observed."

When Mr. Capron first came into possession of this estate there was nothing save the stone mansion, a small grist and saw mill, and a few log tenements. As his mind at once grasped the possibilities of the fine water power, so, too, he began to speculate upon the deplorable condition of the worn-out lands of that vicinity, and his masterly efforts towards their renovation gave the first impulse to the agricultural interests, not only of Maryland, but of other more Southern States, as may be traced through the columns of the press throughout the country of that period.

It is hard to realize that at that time one could not see a single green field in a ride along the great thoroughfare from Washington to Baltimore,—not a spear of improved grasses. Sedge and poverty grass were everywhere. The sudden conversion of these barren old fields into a condition of the highest fertility was the wonder of the surrounding country and attracted the attention of the press from Maine to Georgia.

In a volume of "The Plough, the Loom and Anvil," the venerable Agricultural editor, John D. Skinner, writes, "What ought to be more flattering to that true

pride which is not only justifiable but commendable and auspicious in every cultivator of the soil, than to have the traveler, as he passes, either rein up his horse to admire, or point from the window of the car, as it flies along the iron track, exclaiming: 'Ah, look at that! That looks something like a farm!' There are signs of thought and honorable ambitions. There you behold industry guided by knowledge. There it is that visible improvement and increased productiveness vindicate the cause of agriculture and assert its claim to be ranked among intellectual professions. Such are the reflections that every thinking man makes, such the observations that every man hears, as he passes the laurel-crowned oasis half way in the great desert, which some years since spread over the country between Baltimore and Washington, but which is now giving way to the force of mind applied to the art of agriculture."

An article published in the *American Farmer*, July, 1848, entitled "A visit to Col. Capron's Farm," begins: "The name of Col. Capron of Laurel, Prince George's County, is as familiar to agricultural readers throughout the country as the names of their immediate neighbors."

In speaking of a fine meadow of timothy hay which has been reclaimed from a swamp he says: "Science in his hands has enabled him to completely triumphs over physical obstructions and to convert a noxious, unwholesome morass into a beautiful productive meadow." This visitor to the farm speaks admiringly of the large and valuable stock of cattle, composed of full bred Durhams, thoroughbred North Devons, and specimens of the pure Alderney and Holstein.

The *American Farmer* in speaking of this stock as exhibited at the great State Fair held in the vicinity of Baltimore in 1849—which fair the President honored by his presence,—says, after mentioning the first prizes which they won, that "This was probably the largest and most valuable herd ever exhibited by one breeder in the United States. They were the admiration of every beholder." This farm, called the model farm of Maryland, grew to be an object of wonder.

Distinguished men interested in the science of agriculture came from near and far and were eloquent in its praise. President Taylor delighted to leave the cares of official life and spend quiet days in enjoyment of its manifold attractions. It is easy to see that Colonel Capron's natural love of farming, though primarily undertaken as of secondary importance, had grown to be of all-absorbing interest, and subsequently became the great work of his life.

He removed in 1854 to Illinois, where his fame extended as a breeder of fine cattle, and it was soon discovered that he was without a rival, as his herds, wherever exhibited, carried off the premiums, and where his executive labors at the head of the leading agricultural societies of the West placed him at the head of the workers in the field of effort to which his life was devoted.

While he was contentedly engaged in the pleasant pursuits of a life altogether congenial to his feelings and taste, and where he proposed to spend the

remainder of his days, the great Civil War broke out. His two oldest sons answered the first call for volunteers and later the youngest son followed.

The first year's experience of the war demonstrated the importance of having more cavalry in the service and a commission was sent to Colonel Capron to raise a regiment of cavalry. He agreed to do so on condition that the accompanying of it to the field be left to his discretion, as he was then nearly sixty and his sons all gone to the war. The regiment being ready, he led them across the Ohio and they were properly armed, and in just ten days they had engaged the enemy on the Cumberland River. Of course, there was no time to resign or consider the subject and, in fact, he never found that time until the ending of the war.

We pass the period of his military career. Suffice it to say that General Capron, from the commencement of his period of service, was known as one of those whose valorous deeds won imperishable renown. But his most glorious victories were those of peace, and, after the war, turning his sword into a plough share, he joyfully resumed his labors in contributing to the interests of agriculture, not, however, in his quiet home, for it became his duty to serve his country as head of the Department of Agriculture, to which office he was appointed in 1867. The department had little more than a name when it came into his hands. A press notice of that time says: "General Capron was hardly warm in his seat before the people became certified that a master hand, firm and skillful, was in command."

A paragraph from an article in the *Rural New Yorker*, of March 5, 1870, says: "One who has thus wrought, striven and fought for his country, in so many fields, for so many interests and with an aim so high and a record so honorable was deemed worthy to represent officially the foundation interest of our productive system. General Capron was confirmed as Commissioner of Agriculture November 29, 1867. Of his fitness for that position the results of his administration are the best demonstration. He knows the capabilities and the wants of the North, the South and West and appears to have realized his opportunity, through the agency of his office, to increase by millions the wealth of the country. Yet his enthusiasm for progress which has the warmth of youth is tempered by the discretion of age and wisdom gained in the school of experience."

Another press notice remarks: "We occasionally find the right man in the right place and the present head of the Department of Agriculture furnishes a striking instance. Being himself a practical farmer he knows the needs of the farming community and sympathizes fully with the agriculturist in all his difficulties. He has the interest of the farmers at heart and brings all his energy, business talent, skill and enterprise to bear upon the work to which he is devoted; and in his work he allows no party or sectional views to influence him.

We of the South can count upon as hearty a co-operation in reorganizing our industries, reconstructing our agricultural system and laying anew the founda-

tion of our prosperity, as they of New England or the West in their plans for improvement and progress."

While holding the commissionership of agriculture in 1871, General Capron was waited upon by the Honorable Arinori Mori, the then *Chargé d'Affaires* for Japan, accompanied by His Excellency, Kiyotaka Kuroda Kaitaka Chokwan, who bore a request from His Imperial Majesty the Tenno of Japan, that he would go out to his country and examine into the character of the climate, soils, minerals, and other resources of the outlying islands of Yesso, or Hokaido, and Saghalien and report the results of the investigation, with such suggestions as he might deem advisable for the Government of Japan to adopt for the development and settlement of these islands. His attention, however, was to be confined principally to Yesso, the stipulation being that, in the event of the adoption of his suggestions, he was to be employed by the Japanese authorities for a series of years in carrying the proposed measures into effect. This proposition he accepted.

Numerous letters received when his resignation was tendered and his appointment made known, from the President and heads of departments and other officials, all expressing the feeling of satisfaction in the one thus honored, are peculiarly interesting, as showing the great interest felt in this new enterprise and the feeling of pride that an American had been chosen for this great work.

This work included not only the agricultural interests of the island, but meant the decision as to where roads, canals, and ditches necessary for purposes of communication, transportation, irrigation, and drainage should be constructed, and where towns and stations should be established. General Capron was also empowered to select for appointment as his chief assistants in the engineering, construction, agricultural and mineral departments of the work such persons as he might deem best qualified for the duties. General Capron and staff set sail from San Francisco on the first of August, 1871, and, after a thrilling encounter with the dreaded typhoon, left the vessel on the 26th, reaching Tokio on the 29th, whither they were escorted by quite a formidable retinue of mounted guards, preceded by nude running footmen.

From General Capron's journal, so full of interesting incidents connected with his visit to Japan, two are of peculiar interest, as they are of a national historical character, one of them, indeed, dating the departure from that exclusiveness which for centuries had hedged the royal household, shutting out from the world the Tycoon, the Mikado, and until then the Tenno.

Shortly after their arrival, General Capron received a written invitation to a banquet to be given to himself and party at the Emperor's private palace at Hamogoten. On this occasion the prime minister, Sangio, presided, while there were present some twenty of the leading members of his court, but to do justice to this entertainment would require pages of description. Suffice it to say, the occasion was rendered noteworthy by the presence of the highest dignitaries of

the land, while the appointments of the banquet were in keeping with the splendor of Oriental hospitality and taste.

We quote the following from General Capron's private journal:

"Another event of some moment, as honoring the country of which I am a citizen, as well as myself, occurred on the 16th of September. On the occasion of the banquet, just referred to, I was the recipient, at the hands of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Teracima, of a formal proclamation granting me an audience with his Imperial Majesty, the Tenno, on the 16th. This proclamation was in Japanese, with an English translation, accompanied by a copy of his Majesty's address for the occasion, and a request for my reply at an early day. Appended to the proclamation was a map of the royal castle and grounds, with details as to the order to be observed on the occasion of the interview, what officials would attend us, and at what point we would be placed in charge of attendants of a higher rank, etc., as we approached the imperial throne. On the day appointed the portal gates to my residence were thrown open and the imperial carriage entered the inclosure, accompanied by a mounted escort, headed by a number of officials of high rank clothed in full regalia; wheeling out of the inclosure other mounted troops swelled the procession to imposing proportions. The escort wearing the high cap and flowing silk robes of the imperial household guards, it was at once apparent that we were recipients of unusual and distinguished honors, additional evidence of which was furnished at each step of our progress toward the castle. The streets were roped off at the various crossings and cleared of all obstructions, while troops drawn up on either side of the way in full marching order presented arms as we passed. The nearer we approached the castle grounds the more marked was the improvement in the appearance of the military, until, as we entered the portal gate, a full battalion of the household troops appeared in line. At this point we alighted, by request, as we were about entering on sacred ground, where no vehicle was ever allowed, and where, with the exception of the Emperor's household and the members of his court, no Japanese were ever permitted, and no foreigner under the rank of Ambassador had ever entered. Arriving at a beautiful pavilion, we were met by Iwakura, Teracima, Hiwashi Kfugeo and several others of the higher dignitaries. Here we were entertained some little time, wine and cake being served, when two officers from the immediate presence of the Emperor appeared and announced that His Majesty was ready to receive us. Forming again, the column moved by twos, Iwakura and Teracima leading, with Higashi and myself next, followed by the remainder of my party and the Japanese officials in the order of their rank. On reaching the audience chamber the Tenno was seen in full Oriental robes of state seated on a throne richly draped in silk heavily wrought in gold. His Majesty's cap can only be described as unique in form and Oriental in style. At his right hand stood Sangio, the prime minister, and in his rear two sword bearers, while down either

side of the room to the entrance were numerous officers of high rank in full court dress. Advancing between these lines to within a few feet of the throne, I passed and saluted the Emperor by bowing. The salute was duly recognized by His Majesty, who, turning to Sangio, handed him his address engrossed in both Japanese and English. The address was then read by Sangio and interpreted to me by the court interpreter; both copies were thereupon placed in my hands. Then followed the reading of my reply, which was repeated in Japanese to the Emperor, both copies being handed him. This ended the ceremonies. Our party then withdrew in the order of approach."

The following speech was delivered by His Imperial Highness, the Tenno of Japan, to General Capron, on the occasion of his first interview in 1871:

"Longing after your scientific knowledge and wide experience while you were occupying the position of the Chief of the Agricultural Department in the United States, I have invited you to my country from America, and I engage you to take charge of the measures for agriculture of the Island of Yesso and in supporting my high authorities there. I beg you will understand my desire and operate jointly with my authorities there to produce a good result. I expect you will accomplish a meritorious service."

It must be remembered that the imperial decree which destroyed at a single stroke the entire feudal system that for many centuries had shaped the destinies of this people, and which constituted one of the most arbitrary forms of government that ever existed, was promulgated in July, 1871, just one month prior to the arrival of this commission at the seat of the new government. The period was one of intense excitement and anxiety and everything was for a time in a chaotic state, but, as is well known, the new regime was successfully established.

In the great city of Tokio, in 1871, there was but little evidence of progress in the way of advanced civilization, although but twenty miles distant was the open port of Yokohama with a flourishing settlement of several hundred foreigners. Indeed, to so great an extent were the people of Tokio unacquainted with beings from the outer world that the appearance of these newcomers on the street attracted great crowds actuated simply by curiosity at the sight of beings whose features and dress differed so widely from their own.

As to the Island of Yesso, the belief existed that it was a barren region, with a Siberian climate and unsuited to cultivation. Up to this time it had received but little attention, excepting as regards the fisheries, which were extensive and profitable. The entire population consisted of but a mere fringe along the coast and a few native Ainos on the rivers in the interior.

The first work was to dispatch a corps of scientific men to the island to make as thorough an examination as the lateness of the season would permit. Upon the information thus obtained was based General Capron's report to the Japanese Government, dated January 2, 1872, which contained suggestions with a plan

for the general development and settlement of the island. This report having received the approval of the Emperor and his Cabinet, instructions were given to proceed at once to carry it into effect.

General Capron, early in his work, conceived the importance of establishing nurseries and experimental grounds near the city of Tokio, on an enlarged scale, not only to answer the purpose of a resting place for the various plants and animals to be introduced into the Island of Yesso, but, as a source from which could be drawn a supply for the whole empire, which was almost as deficient in all improved animals and food plants as the desolate Island of Yesso itself. It would have the further advantage of being under the immediate eye of the Emperor and his court, and more likely to attract the attention of the government and people, than if operations were confined to the far-away island, inaccessible to all excepting those most intimately connected with the work.

The grounds having been selected for the nurseries, propagating grounds, stock rearing, etc., eight hundred men were immediately put upon them to prepare the grounds for the reception of the plants, seeds of all our best fruits, large and small, vegetables, grains, grasses, etc., which were ordered from America to arrive in the following spring. Arrangements were also made for the reception of a large number of finely bred horses and cattle, also sheep and swine; and, also, to improve the facilities of transportation between the ports of Yesso and other parts of the empire, the distance being great and navigation dangerous, particularly for Japanese vessels, two large screw steamships were ordered to be built in New York as model vessels.

The April steamer brought over, in good condition, the first shipment for the Kaitakushi. In addition to the farm stock, there was much valuable machinery for the Island of Yesso, as steam engines, turbine water wheels, saw mills, grist mills, also every variety of machines for working in wood and a large assortment of small tools for working in wood and iron and every needed variety of farm implements and machines. This was the first attempt at introducing labor-saving machinery for the purpose of working them into public use.

This same ship brought a pair of handsome American horses for General Capron's private use. These horses proved to be a great curiosity. The Emperor heard of these fine horses as they had been driven through the streets of Tokio and expressed a wish to have them sent up to the castle for him to see. The request was at once complied with and soon another messenger arrived from the castle with the word that His Imperial Majesty desired to see General Capron. On being introduced into the presence of the Emperor, he said, through his interpreter: "Sir, I have sent for you to thank you personally for introducing such animals into my country. I never knew before that they existed on the face of the earth." At a subsequent period these animals were transferred to the royal stables.

In addition to their field work much attention was given by the scientific men to the education of a large number of Japanese students in the professions of the former so that these young natives were early fitted for field and office work. The first maps ever lithographed in Japan were executed by the native students under the direction of their American scientific teachers. Schools were also established in the island and at the headquarters of the department in Tokio. The first surveys ever carried out by the Japanese, or by any Asiatic government, were made, and maps and reports published. Steam and water power were generally substituted for human power. Flour, grist, and saw mills were established.

The first successful flour mills in Japan was erected by this commission at Sapporo, the new capital of Yesso. The establishment of this mill formed an epoch in the history of this people worthy of special notice, as it must have revolutionized the food supply of the entire country. Prior to this bread had never been made or used in the empire, except within the foreign concession and treaty limits. The starting of the mill created intense excitement, the natives never before having seen bolted flour. From the initial grinding, bread was made and sent to the Emperor's table.

When the first saw mill was put into operation, three hundred coolies near by were sawing timber by hand, the daily average of each being about twenty square feet. The capacity of the mill being 12,000 square feet per day, we have in this single labor-saving machine the equivalent of the work of six hundred coolies. These are a few of the changes brought about by the work of General Capron in the few years of his stay in Japan.

That the value of his services was highly appreciated was evidenced in the conferring upon him by His Majesty, the Emperor of Japan, through the Department of State of the United States, the decoration of the Second Order of the Rising Sun, which had never before been conferred upon a foreigner. General Capron felt the more honored that the decoration was not conferred until years had proved the real value of the work he had started. Nothing could be more cheering and inspiring in the rounding out of a long and active life than to be so honored.

The following is a translation of the instructions given to the Japanese legation in Washington, accompanying the decoration and diploma from the Emperor of Japan to General Capron:

"Foreign Office, Jany. 18, the 17th year of Meiji.

"Sir:—

"General Horace Capron, of the United States of America, formerly Commissioner and Adviser in Chief to the Kaitakurti, discharged his duties with great diligence and much satisfaction for more than five years from the 4th to the 8th year of Maiji inclusive.

"He visited the Island of Uskkaido many times and traversed its wilderness to observe its climate and to ascertain its mineral and other sources; he laid out the full plan and gave orders for the execution of various works; and he submitted all necessary reports with courtesy and kindness.

"Now the work of the said Department had been nearly completed, and the Island placed in a condition to secure its future prosperity, with roads, harbors, factories and public works established therein, showing the results and benefits of General Capron's services.

"His Imp. Jap. Majesty has appreciated his work and is now pleased to confer upon him the Decoration of the 2d Order of the Rising Sun.

"I send to you the decoration together with its Indicative button and the Diploma for the Decoration which you will deliver to General Capron on their arrival.

"You will deliver the Decoration to General Capron through the Department of State, thus to share our Special Appreciation of his services in a formal way, he having resigned his Office under the United States Government to accept one under ours, I hope General Capron may feel thus more honored for this formal way of transmitting the decoration.

"ITO HIROBUMI, (His Seal as Councillor of State.)

"Councillor of State,

"Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs."

General Capron's life went out quietly and suddenly on February 22, 1885. The day before he had taken part in the ceremonies of the dedication of the Washington Monument. Forty years before he had commanded his famous "Black Horse Troop" of Maryland in the ceremonies of the laying of the corner stone of the monument.

Someone wrote of him years ago, while he was still in active work: "General Capron is one of those who have become, without ostentation or thought of personal fame, one of the benefactors of the human race. He has proved himself a worthy scion of a race whose fame has filled one of the most illustrious records of history. These are the men who are really great,—whose greatness is exemplified by contemporaneous good, and by the lasting benefits which their daily life has conferred upon mankind. Such men often fail of personal aggrandizement and the grass has grown over the unrecognized graves of those whose name and fame are inscribed in letters of fire upon the list of God's chosen people."



Newhouse

Cholera in Kentucky

Historic Devastation Which Swept the State Eighty Years
Ago Curious Theories Regarding the Disease Held by
American Physicians of the Period

BY

CAROLINE W. BERRY

Of Hamilton College, Lexington, Kentucky



IN 1833 Lexington, Kentucky, less than a century old, was a town of five thousand inhabitants, nestled in the forests upon the very border of the mysterious West. With its high altitude, its distance inland, its fine climate, and its luxuriant vegetation, it is curious that it should have been the center of the worst epidemic in the history of the country. When but a few cases of cholera had developed in our seaports, and these few from direct communication with foreign vessels which had brought infected persons into American harbors, the disease in Kentucky, but a few days later, had developed into a terrible plague, carrying off fourteen per cent. of the inhabitants of this western town.

Asiatic cholera, or Indian cholera, is known to have prevailed in the most severe and fatal epidemics in Asia for centuries before its appearance in Europe. The attention of European physicians was especially directed to this disease by an outbreak of a violent epidemic in Bengal in 1817. This was followed by its appearance in many parts of British India, Ceylon, China, and Persia. In 1823 it appeared in Asia Minor and Russia. In 1830 it appeared in Europe and in October of 1831, in Sunderland, England. In 1832 it made its appearance in London, and throughout this year prevailed in the greater towns of England and Ireland. Subsequently it appeared in France and in 1833 first appeared on the Western Continent, developing in both North and Central America.

Before its appearance in Kentucky, there were vague rumors of a few cases of Asiatic cholera which had been brought into American ports by foreign vessels, but at this time the weekly newspapers brought news generally copied in turn from some other weekly paper, and the parts of our own country were remote and distant, with no electric wires to flash news across the continent, few daily papers and fewer railways to shorten distances.

In the spring of 1833 the Lexington, Kentucky, papers published accounts

of eight cases of cholera in New York City, a few cases in Cincinnati, and an alarming plague in New Orleans. The *New Orleans Mercantile Advertiser* of June 14, 1833, gives the number of interments for the previous thirteen days as seven hundred and forty-seven. On June 8th there were seventy-eight burials, the greatest number for any day. The same paper reports one hundred and eighty deaths in Tampico (population 4,000), in one day, and adds by way of comment, "If this report is not exaggerated, then is Tampico indeed a devoted city." So alarming were these accounts, so sudden the appearance of the epidemic, so fatal in its results, so full of mystery, that fear prevailed lest the dread pestilence reach Kentucky, a fear soon to give way to the panic of realization. The *Lexington Observer and Kentucky Reporter*, a weekly newspaper published in Lexington, announced, about this time, in large headlines, "Cholera appeared in Lexington on the afternoon of June second." Then followed an account of eight or ten cases which developed during the evening of the day mentioned, all of which ended fatally in as many hours. The greatest panic ensued. All possible means of transportation were used to take families out of Lexington to places of safety. In many cases the fugitives fled only to some nearby farm, where a quarantine was established. On every pike leading out of the town could be seen carriages crowded by white members of families, servants following behind on foot. Soon requisition was made upon all the carriages the town afforded, and wagons of the rudest kind were used to transport grand dames and their pretty daughters to places of safety. The town was deserted, offices closed, shops shut up, stores were abandoned. It became difficult to procure provisions, and many physicians fled, leaving their patients to the inevitable. It was with difficulty that the dead and dying were cared for, so rapidly had the pestilence spread and so fatal was it. The bodies of the dead were considered septic and those who had stood faithfully by their posts of duty during life fled when hope was gone. A rude cart made daily rounds to collect the dead, who were buried in unmarked graves without rite of clergy. For days at a time the silence of the streets was unbroken by a passing vehicle; the entrances to many places of business were filled by cobwebs and dust, the accumulation of weeks. The scourge swept on its blighting course, taking death and desolation to many families and fear and panic to all the inhabitants of the curse-stricken city.

During the first week of the epidemic there were thirty-five cases in Lexington, nineteen of whom died within a few hours after being stricken; the other cases lingered into protracted cases of what were called typhoid types and flux. Of these, the records fail to give the number who recovered. The statement that fully one-half of those who were stricken died appears in several of these old records. No papers from June 6 to 27 can be found among the Lexington files; the inference is that the omission is due to the scourge.

Flemingsburg, Millersburg, Georgetown, and Paris, small towns within a

CHOLERA IN KENTUCKY

radius of twenty-eight miles, also suffered from the same cause. Georgetown, with a population of 1,500, reported twenty-eight deaths; Paris, population 1,200, reported ninety-five deaths; Lexington, population 5,000, reported seven hundred deaths. In Paris there were twelve deaths in twenty-four hours, and in Lexington three hundred and seventy-eight in twenty-four days. After six weeks of terror the scourge disappeared as mysteriously as it came.

The symptoms of the disease were violent vomiting and purging which in a few hours prostrated the patient. In many cases there were convulsions. The pulse at the wrist could not be felt for hours in severe cases. It was in this stage of the disease that many deaths occurred, probably due to the want of proper stimulants. The skin was dry and wrinkled, showing that the fluid of the body had been consumed. Death often resulted after an attack of five or six hours, in rare cases in two hours. If this period of depression could be safely passed, the patient rapidly recovered or the disease ran on into a prolonged case of flux, with typhoid symptoms. Authentic cases are reported in which the temperature rose after death and the body remained warm for hours, and in which the position of the body was changed after death by what appeared to be convulsions. We find in one of Hawthorne's stories this expression, "Like the convulsive throes of cholera that torment him for a brief space after death."

These unusual symptoms increased the fear of the disease and added to the wild superstition concerning it. Burials took place in a few hours after death, hastened, perhaps, as much by superstitious fear as by the belief that the dead body was septic.

The news records of the time refer to it as the Visitation, the Plague, the Epidemic, the Pestilence; and show great ignorance of the disease, its origin, or the proper treatment of it. Varied and many were the causes assigned for its appearance and its equally mysterious disappearance. Some physicians believed it due to eating fresh vegetables, in consequence of which many fine kitchen gardens were laid waste. Others believed it due to certain indigestible fruits and vegetables; these forbade the use of cherries, cucumbers, and green corn. Cistern water was also believed to be a cause. Dr. Dudley, of Lexington, who afterward studied medicine in Paris, made especial study of the subject, and, finding no evidence to support this theory, had made, upon his return to America, the first cistern in Kentucky. A theory that atmospheric electricity and cholera had some mysterious connection, and that cholera appeared after electrical disturbances gained sufficient credence to attract the attention of Professor Olmstead, of Yale, who published an article in the *New Haven Palladium* on "Electricity and Cholera" in which he denies any connection between the two. There were still others who protested that it was due to malaria, as warm, damp places of low altitude were fertile spots for its development.

In London a commission was appointed to investigate the English epidemic

of 1832, a report of which was made by Doctors Russell and Barry. In Lexington, Doctor Dudley, who was a student in Paris, and Doctor Cook, of the Medical College of Transylvania University, both gave much time and study to the subject. Doctor Cook maintained that opium, which had been used generally to relieve pain, should be given only after a thorough and effective course of calomel. A magazine of the time contains a cartoon of Doctor Cook pushing a wheel-barrow through the streets from which he shoveled calomel into the open doors.

In passing, it may be of interest to note that this terrible scourge led to the establishment of the first Orphans' Home in Lexington, which was the second of like institutions in America. Mrs. Benjamin Gratz, in whose immediate family there were ten deaths, hearing of a family of five children deprived of both parents and all natural protectors within a few hours by the pestilence, took them into her home. As the scourge swept on, there were, from time to time, added to this group of orphaned children many others. About this time there came to Lexington to visit her brother, Benjamin Gratz, Miss Rebecca Gratz* of Philadelphia. Miss Gratz had been secretary of a similar institution in Philadelphia for a number of years, and her sister-in-law thought it wise to put on foot a plan for providing a home and proper care for her charges while Miss Gratz was near to give helpful suggestions. Accordingly, a meeting was held in the Court House on the seventeenth of July, 1833, at which time a sufficient sum was subscribed by private citizens (among whom was Henry Clay), the city, and the county, to establish this Orphans' Home.

A second epidemic prevailed in Lexington in the summer of 1849. As before, it appeared a year or two later than the second epidemic in England and France. This time there were in all two hundred and one deaths in Lexington, most of which occurred in the asylum for the insane located there.

Superstition was now giving way to more intelligent recommendations of physicians. The papers of this year give warnings of proper care, and some mild suggestions, as vague as mild, in regard to cleanliness. The town council passed an ordinance forbidding the sale of fresh fish. Many remedies were given, purporting to prevent cholera; some of these were prescriptions written in full by physicians of prominence, who wished to do all in their power to prevent a repetition of the terrible experiences of 1833. Notwithstanding the increased intelligence upon the subject, the following extract appeared in regard to the prevalence of the disease at the Lexington Asylum in the *Kentucky Statesman* of June 2, 1849: "The superintendent of the asylum relates that the experiment was made of firing cannon on the grounds and near the buildings at short intervals through

* Miss Gratz was the original of Sir Walter Scott's charming character of Rebecca in "Ivanhoe." Miss Gratz and Matilda Hoffman were friends, and it was Miss Gratz who nursed Matilda in her last illness, and who made a faithful friend of Washington Irving by her tender ministrations to his bedridden. Irving went to Europe after his bereavement and met Scott while there. The two became friends, and Irving, full of gratitude, told the great novelist of Rebecca Gratz.

the day until nine o'clock at night. Although Doctor Allen does not undertake to say that good results followed the experiment, yet the fact appears that the number of cases is decreasing and the attacks are milder in character than those which preceded them."

A curious feature of the epidemic of 1849 was its simultaneous appearance in New York, Saint Louis, Cincinnati, Louisville, and Lexington. This fact, perhaps, led to the theory that the plague was carried upon the wind, a theory which spread over many States. This epidemic was not so malignant in form nor was the number of cases nearly so large as that of 1833.

Again in 1853, the dread disease made its appearance in Lexington and some of the smaller adjacent towns, but this time the cases were comparatively few and but little fear was felt. The physicians had themselves gained considerable confidence through their increased knowledge of the nature and proper treatment of the malady.

While Asiatic cholera was, and probably is still, considered the most severe and fatal of all diseases, there had been published in London the result of much research upon the subject. The epidemic appeared in each case a year earlier in England than in Kentucky, thus giving the opportunity to progressive physicians of studying the results of these cases and the treatment of them. Sanitary conditions had been greatly improved, less surface water was used, and a general knowledge of the history of the terrible disease made less liable its spread.

With the improved conditions of quarantine now in operation, and the knowledge that the disease is infectious rather than contagious, together with the wonderful advances made in the science of medicine and improved methods of nursing since the year 1833, it is not probable that the disease will ever gain a foothold in America again.

During the summer of 1911 there came into the harbor of New York a vessel several of whose passengers were ill of Asiatic cholera. So effectual was the quarantine and so skillful was the treatment that not a single new case developed.





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